

THIRTY-EIGHTH
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

WITH THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND OF THE SOCIETY;

AND THE ADDRESSES

DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING,

January 16, 1855.

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1855.

THIRTY-EIGHTH

ANNUAL REPORT

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AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

JANUARY 16th, 1855.

Financial condition of the Society.

At the close of a year, which has been remarkable in its general history, it is our privilege to refer to the gracious providences which have surrounded our enterprise, and to present our meed of praise to the Ruler of the Universe for his guardian care and continued blessing. Many cities and districts in our widely extended country have felt the desolating power of the "pestilence which walketh in darkness, and the destruction which wasteth at noonday." Great excitements have agitated the public mind, and sent the unnerving streams of their influence through all the ramifications of society. Financial embarrassments and commercial disasters have touched with appalling power many of the great enterprises of business, and spread alarm and anxiety through the wide circle of society! We, in common with all others, have felt the shock and been embarrassed by the prevailing depression, and the impending prospect that "the end is not yet!" But in no individual instance, in no signal manner has our enterprise been singled out as one destined to suffer, or marked by special disfavor. On the contrary, the descent of blessings upon us has been gentle and refreshing as the dews of Heaven, and the tokens of favor from on high have been cheering to the heart, and ever beckoning us onward.

By reference to the long list of distin-

guished Vice Presidents and Life Directors of this Society, it will be perceived that only two names have been removed during the year—Elliott Cresson, Esq., of Philadelphia, Pa., and the Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., of Andover, Mass. Mr. Cresson was for over a quarter of a century an ardent advocate of Colonization, devoting a large portion of his time, in this country and Great Britain, in gratuitous labors in its behalf. His liberal contributions in life, no less than his remembrance of the cause by will, evinced the sincerity of his professions. Dr. Woods was an earnest advocate of colonization for many years, and has left evidence in his will of his desire for its future success and enlarged prosperity.

By reference to the statement of the receipts and expenditures of the Society during the year, herewith presented, it will be perceived that all our available means have been exhausted, and that the treasury is now empty. We commenced the year with a debt of \$24,844 43. We end it with this debt increased by \$7,293 58; making our present indebtedness, including bills payable and current accounts, \$32,138 01.

The whole amount of our receipts are *sixty-five thousand four hundred and thirty-three dollars and ninety-three cents*, (\$65,433 93.) This amount falls short of that received

Evidences of favor—Special Appeals for funds.

the preceding year by \$16,964 32. We record this fact with sorrow, because we have been deficient of the means necessary to accomplish a certain amount of good. We have been called upon for enlarged operations and more extended improvements necessary to the successful prosecution of the enterprise, but we have been obliged to hold back for the want of means. We have been compelled to say to persons applying for a passage to Liberia, you must wait. We cannot accommodate you now. Our means are exhausted!

In this light it is matter of deep sorrow that our income has been so small. We are not however discouraged by it. We are not disposed to complain that our friends have deserted us, or that they have been less liberal than we had a right to expect. We have not seen evidence anywhere that the interest felt in Colonization was dying out, or that the channels of benevolence were dried up forever. On the contrary, when all the attendant circumstances are considered, we are constrained to say that the year has closed upon us with a brighter showing than we could have anticipated. We have not mistaken the benevolent spirit of our country in supposing that this only feasible plan for the accomplishment of an object demanded alike by philanthropy and religion, can never fail for the want of funds! It may be checked in its progress; it may be limited in the extent of its usefulness, as it has been the past year, but in the very causes which have produced this limitation we behold the most cheering evidences that it is instinct with vitality; that it is inwrought into the very life and soul of the noblest body of friends, whose hearts and hands are ready to sustain it in every hour of peril or embarrassment. We have seen how its appeals come home to the bosoms and the consciences of

men. When embarrassments beset us, and clouds and darkness were round about us, our friends have come to cheer and sustain us. They have said, fear not; we will stand by you; go on with your work; we know the times are hard; we feel the pressure and find it very difficult to command the money we need to sustain ourselves; but one thing we have settled, and that is that retrenchment shall not begin by our withholding our contributions from your Society! It is true we have many calls for charitable purposes; we are obliged to economise, and make our little means go as far as possible, but we are with you, heart and purse, to the end!

These and such as these are the sentiments which have come to us from all parts of the country, and have cheered and encouraged us in the most delightful manner. We should do injustice to every sensation of our hearts, as well as to the benevolence of our friends, were we in this connection to refrain from expressing the high sense of our gratitude to them for their unwavering attachment, and their ever prompt and generous liberality! When in any case of emergency, we have made a special call for funds to accomplish any specific good, we have only had to touch the sympathetic chords in order to send a thrill of feeling through many hearts, and then suddenly we would hear the responsive notes rolling back upon us from many a crowded city, from many a hill and valley, and secluded country dwelling! For example, to send a family of *seventy-one* persons to Liberia, we needed to raise, by special effort, \$4,260, and we asked 426 of our friends to give us \$10 each for this purpose. We sent to them letters explaining the case, and it would do anybody's heart good to read the answers they returned us! In a very short

Liberal Responses from our friends.

space of time we received responses from 350 of them, with \$7,164 18, which was just \$2,904 18 more than we asked them for, with the most encouraging assurances that their donations were made with a right hearty good will and the most generous feelings. To such an extent was this the case, that many of the contributors were not satisfied until they had assured us that they would be happy to be called upon again in like circumstances. Many of them sent us many times more than the amount we solicited. Many of them spoke with their friends on the subject, and forthwith they desired to have a share in the work. One gentleman having sent us \$255, says, "nearly all that I have sent you I have collected in the cars or ferry-boat as I am passing daily to my residence in the country!" thus affording a beautiful illustration of the ease and facility with which a great amount of good may be done in a quiet way!

It is worthy of remark that these liberal donations were made at a time when the pecuniary embarrassments were at their height—while money was scarce and calls were numerous. In them therefore we see an illustration of the kind of benevolence which is enlisted in this cause, and a sample of the exertions which men are willing to make to carry it forward.

It is also worthy of remark that our contributions came from no particular section of the country—from no one sect in religion or party in politics. There is a sense in which colonization may be considered an *orphan*. Almost every other benevolent society has some denomination of christians who feel bound to support it, and to which it can appeal with all the confidence of parental love! But colonization, as a scheme of benevolence, originated in the broadest philanthropy, and

appeals to the most enlarged and unselfish principles for support. It belongs to no sect—to no party—which is bound to support it at all hazards and any sacrifices.

But there is still a noble band of men and women, unknown to each other, and separated by many a league or clashing interest, but united in considering this a cause of strict and pure benevolence, intimately connected with the great principles of humanity; bearing upon the general welfare of society; closely linked in with, and embracing all the other great schemes of benevolence; involving some of the most important destinies of our own magnificent country; presenting the chief central hope for the millions of Africa; and that in its onward progress it is accomplishing a train of good results which no other plan of operations has ever yet been able to achieve! Therefore it ought to be sustained and carried vigorously forward, and to this work they have pledged themselves in high and holy covenant!

We desire to call attention particularly to a proposition made by a gentleman in Buffalo, N. Y., in his reply to our special appeal for the \$4,260, above alluded to. He says:—

"I sincerely hope that the plan you have adopted may prove successful. I have, however, a proposition to make, to wit, that if you will raise the sum named in the manner you propose, then I will be one of four to give an equal amount provided three other individuals can be found who will each give one fourth, (\$1,065,) or, I will be one of three, provided two other individuals can be found who will each give one third, (\$1,420,) which would put that amount into the Treasury of the Society; and at the same time, I will give my influence to further the object set forth in the circular. If what I propose cannot be accomplished, you may rely on me for one hundred and twenty dollars in furtherance of the object of your circular."

We have been looking for two or three gentlemen, who would join our Buffalo

Review of the work of the Society.

To some it may seem a small thing that only this number of persons have been sent to Liberia, during a whole year! And so it is, if the mere fact of taking them from this country, and locating them in that, was all. But this is a very narrow and partial view of the subject. It meets not at all the grandeur and far-reaching good which has been accomplished.

Ever since the formation of this Society and the founding of Liberia, the work has gone on in this same quiet and limited manner. There has been nothing grand or imposing, such as ordinarily attends upon a nation's movements. The resources have been small, the progress has been slow. But something has been accomplished, which promises further results and leads on to ulterior ends. The foundations of a free and happy nation have been laid; all the appliances of education and religion have been put in motion, so that Liberia holds out to the colored man brighter prospects than are visible in any other quarter of the globe. A substantial good is therefore done to every person who is removed to that land, and placed in circumstances where he is relieved from the civil and social disadvantages which overhang him in this country! For himself alone, and as an isolated individual, this good is immeasurable. But this is not all. He there becomes an integral part of a great community. He sheds around him an influence and puts forth an agency, tending to spread over the whole western coast of Africa and diffuse among the numerous tribes of the interior all the arts and comforts of civilized life! The greatest difficulties attending the establishment of a colony on a foreign land and the organization of a republican government, have already been so far overcome, that now the way is open for

advancement, and every new company of emigrants have only to address themselves to the completion of that which has already been so well begun. If it is the design of a wise and far-seeing Providence to make Liberia the asylum of the whole African race, now dispersed over the surface of the earth, then without doubt our present feeble labors are connected with other lands and coming generations in a manner more intimate and important than is generally believed. "Colonies on a heathen shore," it has been well remarked, "are like trees around a new house, or a hedge around a prairie. They are to be planted once, not forever. The tree of liberty and civilization once planted on African soil in due abundance, and guarded, a little at first, will grow, and bloom, and bear, and propagate henceforth without help." And who can measure the results to be expected in all future time, from this community of Americanized Christian Africans on the destinies of Africa?

"The good begun by them shall onward flow,
"In many a branching stream, and wider grow:"
till the "final wreck of matter and crush of worlds" has wound up earth's destiny.

Now look but for a moment, at the *only* five hundred and fifty-three persons we have the past year sent to Liberia. Some of them will doubtless not live through the acclimating process. They will go to an early tomb! But the mould shall live fresh upon their graves, and the flowers planted over them shall flourish in perpetual bloom, for they died in a holy endeavor to rekindle the extinguished fires, and rebuild the shattered fortunes of their race!

Others of them shall live, and their children, and their children's children—and still theirs again and again, increasing in number as they go—until far along the coast, away back into the now unknown

Liberian affairs—Extracts from letter of Dr. Roberts.

interior, far up along the mountain side, away down in the valley's depth, along the shores of many a winding stream, around the long sought sources of the Niger, skirting Sahara's desert plain, and on the shores of lake Tchad, shall be found the descendants of this little company—some of them tilling the soil and showing the natives how—some of them pursuing the mechanic arts and illustrating the just application of science to the affairs of every day life—some of them instructing the rising generation in the English language, some of them making laws for free and independent states and some of them unfurling the banner of the Cross and bringing millions of the outcast heathen to a knowledge of the Savior, and each and every one of them constituting a bright and powerful centre of light and love, conferring happiness and salvation on hosts of human beings, who would, otherwise, and but for our having, this year, sent this little company, have been lost forever!

It is not therefore in vain that we have planted "this handful of corn in the earth on the tops of the mountains, for the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon, and they of the City shall flourish like grass of the earth."

Turning from the operations of the Society in this country to the history of Liberia during the year which has just closed, it is our privilege to report that there has been a general advancement in all that constitutes her prosperity. Peace has prevailed with the native tribes in her vicinity. Some of the neighboring chiefs and head men, who had been rebellious and hostile, because they were compelled to abandon the slave trade, are becoming reconciled, by the superior advantages presented to them in lawful commerce and the industry and arts of civilized life. President Roberts has been on a visit to Europe touching business growing out of

the friendly relations of the Republic with the leading governments which have acknowledged their independence, and interceding with the English government for the transfer of Sierra Leone to Liberia. During his absence the duties of the office have been performed by the Hon. S. A. Benson, Vice President. A growing interest is felt in the cultivation of the soil. The steam saw-mill on the Junk river has been put into successful operation. The general health among the acclimated citizens has been good. Some of the companies of newly arrived emigrants have suffered considerably during their sickness, with an unusual mortality, resulting from causes which we could not control. Other companies, however, have enjoyed a very encouraging measure of health. Dr. Roberts says, in his letter dated November 13: "By the English mail steamer I write to acquaint you of the present state of the last company of emigrants, per Sophia Walker, many of whom are making preparations for the clearing of their lands and the erection of their buildings.

"Enclosed, I am thankful, you will find no list of deaths in this company, resulting from their acclimation.

"About eighty-eight were landed here under my charge, and with the exception of the three children, I wrote you by the return of the Sophia Walker, that died three or four days after their landing, (they having the diarrhœa very bad when landed,) none of the number under my charge have died."

President Roberts, in his last message to the Legislature, says: "During the year that has just passed a kind Providence has watched over us for good, and our country has been signally blessed in all its relations. Every important interest of the government and people seems to bear the marks of the Divine favor and

Extracts from message of President Roberts.

approbation. No pestilence has visited our land ; but on the contrary an unusual degree of health has been dispensed to its inhabitants. The agricultural prospects of our country were never more encouraging than at the present time. In no year of the Republic has the labors of the husbandman been more abundantly rewarded. The mercantile interest of the country seems to be in a healthful state. Our merchants are extending their operations by opening up new sources of commerce, and their efforts are producing very satisfactory results, not only in reference to products and trade, but the prosperity attending those branches of industry and enterprise has given an impulse to general improvement decidedly encouraging.

"Our educational interests have also been blessed. The educational facilities extended to the people through missionary enterprises and the benevolence of private individuals in the United States, are now more extensive than ever before, and promise much good to the youth of our several communities, who, I am glad to say, are availing themselves of these advantages, and are making gratifying advancements in the various branches of useful knowledge. But above all, God has been pleased to bless the people by a gracious visitation of his churches, inspiring them with a spirit of pure and undefiled religion, thereby wonderfully extending the inestimable benefits of christianity among the idolatrous tribes of this land, and dispelling the gloom of moral night which has so long overshadowed them.

"We continue to receive from her Britannic Majesty's government assurances of friendly concern for our welfare. From the French government we are also receiving *taugible* proofs of the interest his Imperial Majesty feels in the future pros-

perity of this infant State. As a present to this government, the French Minister of War has forwarded recently one thousand stand of arms, to be followed shortly, as we are advised by our agent in Paris, by an equal number of equipments for our military.

"I regret to have to acquaint the legislature that the contemplated exploration by Commander LYNCH of the country lying east of this Republic, is, for the present at least, given up.

"I am aware our fellow citizens entertained encouraging hopes that this benevolent enterprise on the part of the United States government would be carried into immediate execution. I know of no project, whether considered in relation to the development of the resources of the country, and the extension of commercial enterprise, or whether with a view to the spread of civilization and christianity, that promises more real good to Liberia, and to Africa in general, than an exploration of the interior just at this juncture. Unfortunately for us, our limited pecuniary resources will not allow us to undertake the work. We will, therefore, hope that the enterprise will not be wholly abandoned by the government of the United States."

We have quoted at length the remarks of President Roberts upon the subject of exploration, in order to exhibit more clearly the discouraging effect produced by the delay of so important a measure. But we have the gratification of hoping that this delay has been occasioned by special causes, and that the government of the United States will not unnecessarily postpone a work which promises so much for the interests of our own country.

In a late number of the Liberia Herald the editor remarks : "It is with increased

Extracts from *Liberia Herald*—Maryland Colony.

interest that we notice the growing thriftiness of our citizens. The hands of the ship-builders, and mechanics in every department of their profession, including the husbandman, the product of whose labor appears in our market, show the rapid increase of the industry of our people. Indeed, to an observant mind, who has watched particularly the increase of this people for the last ten years, it will unequivocally appear that Liberia now is not the Liberia of ten years ago.

Two large vessels are on the stocks in Monrovia, and nearly finished.

Almost every day barrels of sugar and syrup are brought to market by the farmers of St. Pauls.

The severity of the rains does not prevent the erection of buildings in our city of almost every description. Laborers meet with constant employment. Rice is very limited in quantity—and prices high. The supply of cassava and potatoes is abundant, and the prices are moderate. European and American trade goods are abundant, and at moderate rates. The supply of American provisions is fair—prices high. Palm oil is commanding high prices. Camwood is at fair rates. A volunteer company has been raised here—it is called, "Johnson's Guards"—and will show itself for the first time in full uniform, on the 26th of this month. An artillery Company has also been formed. Contracts have been entered into for building a new and capacious "Light House." Our market continues scarce of fresh beef. The mail Steamer is behind her time, more than a fortnight. The health of the City is good, notwithstanding the severity of the wet season. The latest news from the leeward counties, represents the health of the people to be good—farms in good condition and that peace prevails. The British Mail Steamer "Forerunner" arrived here on the 9th July, bound home.

She had her complete compliment of passengers, and a full cargo of African produce. A fine steam vessel fitted out in England to ascend the Niger, passed here, on her way down, a few days ago. The British mail steamer "Bacchante" did not complete her voyage—some of her machinery got out of order, and she made the best of her way under sail to Sierra Leone."

Further extracts are unnecessary. These give a general view of the present condition of affairs in Liberia.

The Maryland Colony at Cape Palmas, has become an independent State. This measure was almost unanimously desired by the citizens thereof, and was readily acquiesced in by the Society, under whose auspices the colony was founded. It had been proposed by some that the Colony at Cape Palmas should become annexed to the Republic, and form one of its counties, on the same terms as Sinou or Bassa. But a majority of the citizens thought otherwise. We wish them all the blessings which they need, and will be most happy to see their numbers increasing and their influence extending far and wide.

Dr. Daniel Laing and Dr. Isaac H. Snowden, of Boston, Massachusetts, having completed their medical education under the care and patronage of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, embarked for Liberia in the ship *Sophia Walker*, the 27th May. We have engaged them as physicians, on competent salaries, to attend our emigrants during acclimation, the one, Mr. Snowden, in Sinou county, and the other, Dr. Laing, on the St. Pauls. From the proceeds of their labors, they are to refund the Society from time to time, as they may be able, the money advanced to them while pursuing their education. They have been considered men of fine talents and good character, and

Meeting of the Society—Election of Officers.

their medical knowledge and ability are believed to be equal to the generality of young physicians.

We have now four physicians in the employment of the Society, two of whom, Drs. Roberts and Smith, have proved themselves well furnished for their work. They will be able to render all needful attention to even a much larger number of emigrants than we at present have the prospect of means to send out.

In closing this report we feel called upon to make a special appeal to the several

Statesocieties, and the friends and patrons of our enterprise, for renewed exertions, to give increased impulse to the cause during the present year. We commence the year under the pressure of a too heavy debt. Extensive improvements must be made in Liberia. Numerous applications have already been made for a passage in our regular spring expedition, which it will be utterly impossible for us to accommodate, without greatly enlarged resources are placed at our command.

Proceedings at the 38th Annual Meeting of the Am. Col. Society.

TRINITY CHURCH, Washington City.

Jan. 16, 1854, 7 o'clock P. M.

The American Colonization Society met according to adjournment. The President, J. H. B. LATROBE, Esq., presided. The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Cummins, the Rector of the Church.

The Secretary read extracts from the Annual Report.

Addresses were delivered by Gov. Dutton, the Rev. Dr. Haight, and Captain Foote, U. S. N. After which, volunteer speeches were made by a gentleman from New York, and by the Rev. Leroy M. Lee, D. D., of Richmond, Va.

After which the Society adjourned to meet in the lecture room of the church at 12 o'clock to-morrow.

LECTURE ROOM,

Jan. 17, 1855, 12 M.

The Society met agreeably to adjournment.

The minutes of the last meeting were read.

The Annual Report was taken up and referred to the Board of Directors for their action.

JOHN H. B. LATROBE, Esq., was re-elected President of the Society.

The following gentlemen were elected Vice Presidents.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

(First elected in 1819.)

1. Gen. John H. Cocke, of Virginia.

(First elected in 1823.)

2. Hon. Charles Fenton Mercer, of Va.

3. Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D. of Conn.

(First elected in 1830.)

4. Hon. Theo. Frelinghuysen, of N. J.

(First elected in 1832.)

5. Hon. Louis McLean, of Maryland.

(First elected in 1833.)

6. Moses Allen, Esq., of New York.

7. Gen. Walter Jones, of Dis. of Col.

8. Joseph Gales, Esq., do

(First elected in 1834.)

9. Rt. Rev. Wm Meade, D. D. of Va.

(First elected in 1835.)

10. Rev. James O. Andrew, D. D., Bishop of the M. E. Church, South.

11. William Maxwell, Esq. of Virginia.

(First elected in 1836.)

12. Hon. Elisha Whittlesey, of Ohio.

13. Hon. Walter Lowrie, of New York.

14. Stephen Duncan, M. D., of Miss.

(First elected in 1838.)

15. Hon. William C. Rives, of Virginia,

16. Rev. William Winans, D. D. of Miss.

17. James Boorman, Esq., of N. Y.

18. Henry A. Foster, Esq., of do.

19. Robert Campbell, Esq., of Georgia.

20. Hon. Peter D. Vroom, of N. J.

21. Hon. James Garland, of Virginia.

List of Vice Presidents—Adjournment.

(First elected in 1840.)

- 22. Hon. Willard Hall, of Delaware.
- 23. Rt. Rev. Wm. M. Otey, of Tenn.
- 24. Gerard Ralston, Esq., of England.
- 25. Rev. C. Van Rensselaer, D. D. of N. Y.

(First elected in 1841.)

- 26. Thomas Hodgkin, M. D. of England.
- 27. Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., of Mass.
- 28. Thomas R. Hazard, Esq., of R. I.
- 29. Thomas Massie, M. D., of Va.

(First elected in 1842.)

- 30. Gen. Winfield Scott, U. S. A.

(First elected in 1843.)

- 31. Hon. L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey.
- 32. James Raily, Esq., of Miss.
- 33. Rev. G. W. Bethune, D. D. of N. Y.

(First elected in 1844.)

- 34. Rev. Beverly Waugh, D. D., Bishop of the Meth. Episc. Church.

(First elected in 1845.)

- 35. Rev. W. B. Johnson, D. D. of S. C.
- 36. Moses Sheppard, Esq., of Md.
- 37. Rt. Rev. C. P. McIlvaine, D. D. of O.
- 38. Rev. J. T. Edgar, D. D., of Tenn.
- 39. Rev. P. Lindsley, D. D., of Ind.
- 40. Hon. J. R. Underwood, of Ky.

(First elected in 1847.)

- 41. Rev. J. J. Janeway, D. D., of N. J.
- 42. Hon. H. L. Lumpkin, of Geo.
- 43. James Lenox, Esq., of N. Y.

(First elected in 1848.)

- 44. Rev. Joshua Soule, D. D., Bishop of the M. E. Church, South.
- 45. Rev. T. C. Upham, D. D., of Maine.
- 46. Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio.
- 47. Hon. Thos. W. Williams, of Conn.

(First elected in 1849.)

- 48. Rev. John Early, D. D. of Virginia.
- 49. Rev. Lovick Pierce, D. D., of Ga.
- 50. Hon. R. J. Walker, of Miss.

(First elected in 1850.)

- 51. Samuel Gurney, Esq., of England.
- 52. Charles McMicken, Esq., of Ohio.
- 53. John Bell, M. D., of Penn.

(First elected in 1851.)

- 54. Hon. Charles M. Conrad, of La.
- 55. Rev. Robert Ryland, of Va.
- 56. Hon. Fred. P. Stanton, of Tenn.

(First elected in 1852.)

- 57. Rev. Nathan Bangs, D. D., of N. Y.
- 58. John Beveridge, Esq., do.
- 59. Hon. James M. Wayne, of Georgia.

- 60. Hon. Robert F. Stockton, of N. J.
- 61. Hon. Henry W. Collier, of Ala.

(First elected in 1853.)

- 62. Hon. Edward Everett, of Mass.
- 63. Hon. Washington Hunt, of N. Y.
- 64. Hon. Horatio S. Seymour, do.
- 65. Hon. Joseph A. Wright, of Ind.
- 66. Hon. Joseph C. Hornblower, of N. J.
- 67. Hon. George F. Fort, of New Jersey
- 68. Gen. John S. Dorsey, do.
- 69. Hon. Ralph J. Ingersoll, of Conn.
- 70. Benjamin Silliman, LL. D. do.
- 71. Hon. Joseph R. Ingersoll, of Penn.
- 72. Hon. Edward Coles, do.
- 73. Rev. Howard Malcolm, D. D., do.
- 74. Rev. J. P. Durbin, D. D., do.
- 75. Edward McGehee, Esq., of Miss.
- 76. Thomas Henderson, Esq., do.
- 77. Daniel Turnbull, Esq., of La.
- 78. Hon. Thos. H. Seymour, of Conn.
- 79. Hon. Samuel F. Vinton, of Ohio.

(First elected in 1854.)

- 80. Rev. O. C. Baker, of N. H., Bishop of the M. E. Church.
- 81. Hon. William Appleton, of Mass.
- 82. Hon. Abbot Lawrence, of do.
- 83. Rev. E. S. Janes, D. D., of N. Y., Bishop of the M. E. Church.
- 84. Rev. Matthew Simpson, D. D., of Pa., Bishop of the M. E. Church.
- 85. Rev. Levi Scott, D. D., of Del., Bishop of the M. E. Church.
- 86. Rev. R. R. Gurley, of Dist. of Col.
- 87. E. R. Alberti, Esq., of Florida.
- 88. Judge Oranond, of Alabama.
- 89. Hon. Daniel Chandler, of do.
- 90. Rev. Robert Paine, D. D., Bishop of the M. E. Church, South.
- 91. Hon. J. J. Crittenden, of Kentucky.
- 92. Rev. R. J. Breckenridge, D. D. of do.
- 93. Solomon Sturges, Esq., of Ohio.
- 94. Rev. T. A. Morris, D. D., of do., Bishop of the M. E. Church.
- 95. Henry Stoddard, Esq., of do.
- 96. Rev. E. R. Ames, D. D., of Ind., Bishop of the M. E. Church.
- 97. Hon. S. A. Douglass, of Ill.
- 98. Rev. Jas. C. Finley, of do.
- 99. Hon. Edward Bates, of Mo.
- 100. Hon. J. B. Miller, of do.
- 101. Hon. W. F. Darby, of do.
- 102. Rev. N. L. Rice, D. D., of do.
- 103. Hon. H. S. Foote, of Cal.
- 104. Hon. J. B. Crockett, of do.
- 105. Gov. H. Dutton, of Conn.

After which, the Society adjourned to meet the 3rd Tuesday in January, 1856, at 7 o'clock, P. M.

W. McLAIN,
Secretary

Meeting of the Board—Report of Committee on By-Laws.

Extracts from the Minutes of the Board of Directors.

The Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society met the 16th January, 1855, at 12 o'clock, M., in the basement of Trinity Church, City of Washington. The Hon. J. H. B. Latrobe, President of the Society, in the chair.

After prayer by the Rev. Dr. Haight of New York, on motion, Dr. D. Meredith Reese, of New York, was appointed Secretary to the Board, and Dr. J. W. Lugenbeel, Assistant Secretary.

Rev. J. Tracy, Henry Stoddard, Esq., and Rev. P. Slaughter, were appointed the Committee on credentials.

Rev. W. McLain, Secretary of the Society, read the minutes of the last annual meeting of the Board, which were approved.

The President of the Society, chairman of the Committee appointed at the last annual meeting of the Board, to prepare By-laws for the government of the proceedings of the Board of Directors, presented the following Report, which, on motion, was adopted :

WASHINGTON, Jan. 16, 1855.

To the Board of Directors of the A. C. S. :

The Committee appointed to prepare by-laws for the conduct of the business of the Board of Directors at its annual meetings, have the honor to present the following Report :

JNO. H. B. LATROBE,
ELISHA WHITTLESEY,
W. MCCLAIN.

**BY-LAWS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF
THE AM. COL. SOC.**

Touching the duties of the Presiding Officer.

I. The President of the Society shall preside, when present, at the meetings of the Board of Directors.

II. In the absence of the President of the Society, a chairman, to be chosen by the Board of Directors, shall preside.

III. It shall be the duty of the presiding officer to call the members to order at the hour to which the Board shall have adjourned at their last meeting. Should neither the President, nor a chairman pre-

viously appointed, be present, the members shall be called to order by the Secretary of the Society, when their first business shall be to choose a chairman.

IV. The presiding officer shall preserve order and decorum ; may speak to points of order in preference to other members ; and shall decide questions of order ; subject to an appeal to the Board by two members, on which appeal no member shall speak more than once unless by leave of the Board.

V. The presiding officer shall have a right to name any member to perform the duties of the chair, but such substitution shall not extend beyond an adjournment.

VI. All committees shall be appointed by the presiding officer, unless otherwise specially directed by the Board, in which case they shall be appointed by ballot, when a majority of the votes taken shall be necessary for an election, and the balloting shall be continued until such majority be obtained.

Of the Order of Business of the Annual Meetings.

VII. If the President of the Society be present when the members assemble according to adjournment of the last annual meeting, he shall call the members to order at the hour appointed, when their first business shall be to choose a Secretary to the Board.

In the absence of the President of the Society, their first business shall be to choose a Chairman, and after that a Secretary to the Board.

VIII. The Board being organized, a committee on credentials, consisting of three members, shall be appointed, whose duty it shall be to examine and report upon the qualifications of members.

IX. The proceedings of the last annual meeting shall then be read ; after which,

The Annual Report shall be read by the Secretary of the Society charged with its preparation, and shall be referred to the standing committees of the Board according to its several topics, or to special committees, should the subjects mentioned therein require it, and the same be asked for and agreed to by the Board.

X. The Annual Report having been read, statements or communications from the Executive Committee shall be next in order.

XI. After which, the presiding officer shall call for the reports of committees hold-

Resolutions—Delegates from State Societies.

ing over from the last annual meeting, in the order in which they appear upon the journal of proceedings, and after the reports have been presented, shall call for the reports of the agents of the Society.

XII. The presiding officer shall appoint, at the commencement of each annual session, the following standing committees :

1. A Committee on Foreign Relations.
2. A Committee on Finance.
3. A Committee on Auxiliary Societies.
4. A Committee on Agencies.
5. A Committee on Accounts.
6. A Committee on Emigration.

The duties of these committees shall be to take charge of and report upon the subjects indicated by the letters of the committees respectively, as the same may be referred to them.

Of the Order of Business of the day.

XIII. The business of each day shall be opened with prayer, to be offered by such person as may be designated by the presiding officer.

XIV. Subject to the priorities of the order of business indicated under the head of "Of the order of business for the session," the order of each day's business while the Board is in session shall be as follows :

1. The reading of the minutes of the last meeting, and the correction, if need be, of the same.
2. Reports from Standing Committees.
3. Reports from Special Committees.
4. Resolutions.
5. The orders of the day.

XV. All reports and resolutions shall, as presented and read, be laid upon the table of the presiding officer, to be called up and acted upon in the order of business.

XVI. No report or resolution otherwise ready to be acted on, shall be taken up out of its order unless by a vote of two-thirds of the members present.

XVII. The business on the table of the presiding officer shall be gone through with, unless otherwise ordered by the Board, in the order already indicated.

XVIII. All motions and resolutions, before being offered, shall be reduced to writing.

XIX. When not otherwise provided herein, and so far as they may be applicable for the preservation of order and facilitating the business of the Board, the Rules of the House of Representatives shall be in force during the annual meetings of the Board of Directors.

XX. These by-laws shall not be altered

except with the consent of two-thirds of the members of the Board present when such proposition to alter them shall be read.

The Secretary of the Society read the Annual Report.

On motion of Mr. Jones of Pennsylvania, it was

Resolved, That the abstract of the Annual Report to be read at the meeting of the Society this evening, be referred to a committee for revision.

Messrs. Jones, Maclean, Foulke, Phelps, and Stoddard were appointed said Committee, to which, on motion, the name of the President was added, as chairman.

On motion of Mr. Foulke, it was

Resolved, That the Treasurer is requested to prepare and present to the Board at its next session a schedule, exhibiting under convenient heads, the particulars of expenditures which have been reported as basis of representation for the State Societies respectively.

The Committee on credentials reported the following delegates from State Societies :

Vermont Colonization Society.—Gen. William Nash,* Rev. John Wheeler, D. D., Rev. William Mitchell.

Massachusetts Colonization Society.—Hon. Edward Everett, Hon. S. H. Walley,* Hon. J. Wiley Edmands,* William Ropes, Esq., Dr. William R. Lawrence, Hon. James Adams,* Hon. Luther V. Bell, Peter Hubbell Esq., John O. Bradford, Esq., Hon. Samuel L. Crocker,* Hon. Edward Dickinson,* Rev. Joseph Tracy.* (Eleven vacancies.)

Connecticut Colonization Society.—Hon. H. Dutton,* Hon. John A. Rockwell, Hon. James T. Pratt,* Hon. Nathan Belcher, Commander A. H. Foote,* William Williams, Esq., W. D. Shipman, Esq.,* Eli Whitney, Esq.,* Hezekiah Huntington Esq., James B. Hosmer, Esq.,* Rev. John Orcutt.*

Those marked thus () were present.

Report of Committee on Recognition of Liberia.

New York State Colonization Society.—

Rev. B. J. Haight, D. D.*, Rev. John N. McLeod, D. D.*, Hon. Hamilton Fish, Hon. D. S. Gregory,* D. Meredith Reese, M. D.*, G. P. Disosway, Esq.*, Anson G. Phelps, Esq.*, H. M. Scheiffelin, Esq., J. C. Devereux, Esq. (Six vacancies.)

New Jersey Colonization Society.—Hon. William L. Dayton, Richard T. Haines, Esq.*

Pennsylvania Colonization Society.—W. Parker Foulke, Esq.*, William V. Pettit, Esq.*, Rev. John Miller,* President W. H. Allen,* Paul T. Jones, Esq.*, William Copping, Esq.*

Colonization Society of D. C.—Rev. J. N. Danforth, J. W. Lugenbeel, M. D.*

Virginia Colonization Society.—Rev. P. Slaughter,* Rev. G. W. Leyburn, Rev. W. H. Starr,* Rev. Dr. Sparrow,* Rev. Dr. Harrison, Rev. G. D. Cummins,* Rev. Charles A. Davis,* Rev. Leroy M. Lee, D. D.*, Rev. M. D. Hoge, Rev. James D. Coulling,* Dr. Ashby, S. S. Baxter, Esq., Hon. J. S. Caskie, Hon. William Smith, Hon. John Letcher, Hon. Thomas H. Bayly, Hon. Charles J. Faulkner, Hon. John S. Millson, Edgar Snowden, Esq., Rev. W. W. Bennett,* Wyndham Robertson, Esq., L. P. Bayne, Esq., P. V. Daniel, Jr., Esq., Frederick Bransford, Esq.*

Georgia Colonization Society.—Rev. H. M. Blodgett.*

Mississippi Colonization Society.—Rev. R. L. Stanton, D. D.,* Rev. E. B. Clegghorn,* Samuel Hanson, Esq., Grafton D. Hanson, Esq.*

Louisiana Colonization Society.—William L. Hodge, Esq.*

Illinois Colonization Society.—Rev. Jas. Mitchell.*

Missouri Colonization Society.—Hon. J. G. Miller.

Life Directors present.—Rev. W. McLain of D. C., Henry Stoddard, Esq., of Ohio, Rev. John Maclean, D. D., of N. J., James Hall, M. D., of Md., Hon. William Appleton of Massachusetts, Rev. R. R. Gurley, of D. C.

Executive Committee present.—Hon. E. Whittlesey, Harvey Lindsay, M. D., Joseph H. Bradley, Esq., William Gunton, Esq.

Adjourned to 5 o'clock, this P. M.

The Board met at 5 o'clock, according to adjournment.

The annual statement of the Executive Committee to the Board of Directors was read.

The President of the Society, chairman of the Committee appointed at the last annual meeting of the Board, to "take such steps as they shall deem expedient for obtaining a recognition of the Republic of Liberia by the Government of the United States," presented the following Report:

*To the Board of Directors
of the Am. Col. Soc.*

GENTLEMEN: At the last meeting of the Board, duties were assigned to the President that are, properly, the subject of a report.

On the 18th January, the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, that a committee be appointed by the President, of which the President shall be the chairman, to take such steps as they shall deem expedient for obtaining a recognition of the Republic of Liberia by the United States."

The committee appointed were, Mr. Whittlesey of Ohio, Mr. Williams of Connecticut, Mr. W. C. Rives, of Va., Judge Underwood of Kentucky, and Dr. Stephen Duncan of Mississippi.

The names of the committee were not published in the proceedings, because it was deemed proper, first, to ascertain whether the parties would consent to serve.

Full and explanatory letters were at once addressed to Mr. Rives, Judge Underwood, and Dr. Duncan.

The reply first received was from Judge Underwood, who, writing on the 14th February, gave at length his reasons for holding it to be impolitic to apply to Con-

Those marked thus () were present.

Recognition of Liberia.

gress for recognition; and suggesting whether it would not be proper in this regard, to observe the Parliamentary rule, and place no one on the committee, who did not thoroughly favor, in every mode, the object for which it was raised.

Before hearing from Judge Underwood, the President had obtained, through the kindness of Mr. Whittlesey, who made the appointment, an interview with Mr. Clayton, who was known to be a friend of African Colonization, and who had, when Secretary of State, sent Mr. Gurley to Liberia, to report upon the condition of the Republic.

The consultation with Mr. Clayton was frank and full. He gave it as his very decided opinion that the most judicious course would be to bring the matter before the Senate in the shape of a treaty, which could be made by the President on the one part, and Mr. McLain, already authorized to this end, on the other. The making and ratification of such a treaty would, Mr. Clayton suggested, be as ample a recognition as Liberia could desire. When the measure came before the Senate, he promised that it should receive his earnest advocacy.

After seeing Mr. Clayton, and in the absence of any replies from the Southern members of the committee, it was deemed prudent to call upon Mr. Moses Corwin of Ohio, who had introduced a resolution into the House of Representatives, where it was then lying, waiting to be called up for consideration,—suggesting that he should let the subject rest for the present, as it was, in that body. The kind services of Mr. Whittlesey were here again called into requisition, and the interview with Mr. Corwin that was obtained through his introduction was entirely satisfactory.

When, therefore, the letter of Judge Underwood was received, objecting to an application to Congress, it was at once replied to, with a statement of what is here detailed; the objections of Judge Underwood were removed, and he authorized the use of his name on the committee under date of March 4th.

This was so far satisfactory, that it gave the weight of Judge Underwood's opinion, in addition to Mr. Clayton's, in favor of a commercial treaty, as the best shape into which to put the matter of recognition.

Dr. Duncan's reply to the letter addressed to him was delayed by his absence from home, until the 17th February, when he writes,

"I must beg leave to decline the use of my name for the proposed purpose. I am

very sure the present is a very unpropitious period for the agitation of such a project. I feel assured it would not only be defeated now; but its future prospects prejudiced by the mere agitation of the question at the present juncture."

From Mr. Rives no reply was received until the 18th April; when he declined the appointment as a member of the committee.

Mr. Rives, in his letter, called attention to the fact, quoting Jefferson's notes on Virginia, that the committee of revisers in that State, in 1776, proposed, when a colony in Africa should be established, "to declare them a free and independent people, and to extend to them our alliance and protection till they should have acquired strength."

Mr. Rives offered no objection to the proposed measure, in his letter, indeed he concludes it by saying that what the society contemplated was even less than had been suggested in Virginia in 1776, and placed his refusal to act on the committee on the ground that he had entirely withdrawn from all connection with federal politics and being most anxious to keep himself completely disentangled from them, which he might not be able to do, if he consented to serve on a committee, that might, directly or indirectly, involve him in them.

In selecting the committee, it had been thought advisable to place upon it a majority from the slaveholding states, which it was important should take the initiation in the matter, and the result of the correspondence here detailed was discouraging.

Still there would be no harm done in moving in the matter of a treaty; and an opportunity was taken of mentioning the subject to a leading member of the administration, who proposed an interview at a future day, of which notice was to be given by him, but from whom however nothing further was heard.

In truth, by this time, the Nebraska excitement throughout the country absorbed all other questions connected directly or indirectly with the colored population—and this excitement continuing during the entire session of Congress and even after it had adjourned in August, the best judgment seemed to consider a suspension of all proceedings looking towards recognition, until the Board again met, and the proper course to be adopted might, on full consultation, be determined on.

The subject of the recognition of the Independence of Liberia by the United States is therefore again before the Board for its consideration.

Agency in Europe.

The letters that have been referred to in this connection will be found in the letters of the President, written and received, which are at the disposition of the Board.

On the 19th January 1854, the Board after adopting the report of Mr. Miller on the proposed agency in Europe passed the following resolution :

“Resolved, that the President of the American Colonization Society communicate to President Roberts the proceedings of this Society relative to the appointment of a special agent to Europe.”

In pursuance of this resolution, and in season to be in readiness for the first opportunity from the United States, direct, to Liberia, the following letter was addressed to President Roberts under date of the 17th February.

BALTIMORE, February 17, 1854.

His Excellency, J. J. Roberts,
President of Liberia.

DEAR SIR : I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the — last, and to thank you for the kind manner in which you are pleased to speak of my election to the Presidency of the American Colonization Society.

At the late meeting of the Board of Directors a resolution was adopted looking to the appointment of an agent to visit Europe.

The Board acted under the impression that such an agency in the hands of a judicious and intelligent person might have beneficial results in exciting the sympathies of the people in the cause of African Colonization, and awakening a more active interest there in behalf of the Republic, its expansion and its influence in the civilization and christianization of Africa.

The Board were solicitous that their proceeding in this regard should be properly appreciated by the Government of Liberia, and that they should not be construed into a desire on the part of the Board to interfere in any way with their political relations, which had heretofore been so ably and satisfactorily managed by yourself as the representative of your country in the old world : but to a willingness to co-operate as efficiently, as it might be in their power to do, in everything calculated in any way to promote the welfare and prosperity of the Republic.

Hence their request that the President of the Society should communicate with you directly upon the subject, and I cannot fulfil the task assigned to me better than by stating to you what I have put

down in regard to the motives that have governed their action on this occasion.

If any one feeling was more prominent than another at the late meeting of the Board, it was a feeling of high gratification at the admirable manner in which the Government and people of Liberia were illustrating their claim to a high and honorable position in the family of independent nations.

The letter to President Roberts contained much more than we have extracted, but nothing further in relation to the mission to Europe.

The following reply to it was received in due course :

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
MONROVIA, April 15, 1854.

Hon. J. H. B. Latrobe,
President of the A. C. S.

SIR : By the Barque Linda Stewart, I have had the honor of your favor of the 17th February, communicating to me a resolution of the Board of Directors, of the American Colonization Society, adopted at their late meeting, looking to the appointment of an agent to visit Europe.

“The Board,” you remark, “were solicitous that their proceedings in this regard should be properly appreciated by the Government of Liberia, and that they should not be construed into a desire on the part of the Board to interfere in any way with their political relations, which had heretofore been so ably and satisfactorily managed in the old world—but to a willingness to co-operate as efficiently as it might be in their power to do, in every thing calculated in any way to promote the welfare and prosperity of the Republic.”

Notice of the resolution to which you refer, had reached us via England previous to the arrival of the Linda Stewart, and I regret to say caused no little speculation among the people here, not that they entertain the slightest apprehension that the Board have any desire to interfere with the political relations subsisting between this Government and European powers, or that the Board would, advisedly, adopt any measures calculated to injure the prospects of Liberia in the slightest degree : still it is feared this contemplated agency may in some respects operate against her interests in Europe. At no previous period has there been so strong a feeling in Europe in favor of Liberia as at the present time, and we have encouraging hopes of receiving from that quarter direct assistance to Liberia, especially from those Governments tha

Report of Committee on Exploration eastward of Liberia.

have acknowledged the independence of the Republic.

In regard to this matter, I could wish that the Board had proposed the co-operation of the Government here. It strikes me, sir, that a concert of action in a measure alike important to the interests of Liberia as the cause of colonization in the United States, would most likely result in great good to both. * *

The remainder of the letter from President Roberts it is unnecessary to quote in this connection relating as it does to other matters.

The President's letter was received on the 7th of June, just two weeks after a letter had been received from the Rev. Mr. Miller, the mover of the resolutions regarding the European agency, enclosing a communication from Dr. Balch, declining the appointment under them, which the Board are aware had been tendered to him.—The letter of Mr. Miller and Dr. Balch's communication were at once forwarded to the Executive Committee.

The view of the whole matter taken by President Roberts made any further action looking to the appointment of another agent inexpedient, even had it been contemplated by the Board, and nothing has since been done in regard to it. The foregoing report covers all the matters especially committed to the President by the Board.

The report on the by-laws, where he is associated with the Chairman of the Executive Committee and the Secretary, will be made separately from this communication.

In the month of June last a proposition was introduced into the Senate of the United States, looking to an abrogation of so much of the Ashburton treaty as required the United States to maintain a squadron of a given force upon the coast of Africa, which it was understood was looked upon with no disfavor in certain quarters, and which at one time, it was thought would be adopted without any serious opposition.

The occasion seemed one in which the President of the Society might, without impropriety, state publicly the views that it might be supposed colonizationists would generally take in regard to a matter of such vital interest to the cause in which they are engaged.

A letter was accordingly addressed to Senator Pearce, of Maryland, which with his consent, was printed in the newspapers, and was noticed through the country. It was but one, and not by any means the

most important one, of many efforts that were made in many quarters to the same end; and the agency of the President in the matter is noticed on this occasion only because he assumed to make the letter in question official, by signing it as the President of the Society.

The correspondence of the President, which has largely increased during the past year, shows the matters to which his attention has been called, but does not require to be made the subject of a report: as already stated, the volumes containing it are at the disposition of the Board.

J. H. B. LATROBE,
President of the A. C. S.
Baltimore, January 13, 1855.

Mr. Foulke, chairman of the Committee appointed at the last annual meeting of the Board, to "take such steps as they shall deem expedient for obtaining a completion of an exploration by the Government of the United States of the country lying east of Liberia in Africa," presented the following Report:

The Committee to whom was referred the subject of an exploration by the Government of the United States of the country eastward of Liberia, respectfully report:

That the chairman of the committee having been informed by the Honorable Secretary of the Navy that the appropriations needed by his department would be so large, for special objects, as probably to absorb all the funds which the Houses of Congress would be willing to apply to purposes to be accomplished through his Department, and Commander Lynch having been ordered to service on the coast of South America, and the means at the command of the committee being too limited to give reasonable ground for hope of obtaining any majority by a canvass of the members of Congress, no active measures were taken at the last session. In view of the importance of the subject referred to your committee, it is respectfully recommended that the Board continue their careful attention to it.

W. PARKER FOULKE,
ELISHA WHITTLESEY,
W. McLAIR,
Committee.

Mr. Foulke, chairman of the Committee appointed at the last annual meeting of the Board, to report to the present meeting

Report of Committee on Representation of State Societies.

"a mode in which the representation of the State Societies shall be thereafter apportioned," presented the following report :

To the Board of Directors of the A. C. S.:

The undersigned Committee, appointed by resolution at the last meeting of the Board to report "a mode in which the representation of the State Societies shall be hereafter apportioned," now respectfully report :

The constitution of the American Society provides that each State and Territorial Society, and the Society for the District of Columbia, "shall be entitled to one delegate for every five hundred dollars paid into the Treasury of this Society within the year previous to the annual meeting." In the practical construction of this clause through a series of years, there have been adopted for the local societies different rules, the effect of which has been not only to destroy the equality which was originally intended, and which is obviously proper in the application of a constitutional provision, but also renders uncertain the limits of representation from year to year. Thus, in some States (for example Virginia, New York, and Pennsylvania,) no account is taken of the gross receipts, but the net sum which finds its way to the treasury of the parent Society, is made the basis of representation. In other States the accounts with the chief treasury are so kept that a portion at least of the working expenses are in effect credited as a basis.

2d. The American Society has, by special appeals for particular objects, obtained contributions from citizens of States in which auxiliary societies were in operation at the time of such contributions, and has *pro tanto* assumed the work of such societies.

3. A portion of the general collections of State Societies has been in some instances appropriated to the making of Life Directors by the payment *ad hoc* into the chief treasury of the sum required by the constitution, and it has been supposed that the same money, after having been thus effectively applied, might be reckoned as the basis of annual representation.

4. In the estimate of such basis the constitution has been said to provide no termini for computation, and it has resulted that differences of opinion have arisen respecting the number of delegates entitled

to admission at particular sessions of the National Board.

These subjects will be treated in the order in which they have been mentioned:

1. In ascertaining the objects of an annual representation of State Societies in the American Board, the committee have taken into consideration the fact, that those societies are organized as auxiliaries, having an independent constituency, and bearing to the parent Society the relations proper to a federal head. This head controls the common policy; but it relies for its vigor and resources upon the activity of the local organizations, to each of which a particular district is exclusively assigned as a field of labor. Hence, for a knowledge of the facts peculiar to each district, and for advice founded upon an intimate association with its inhabitants, the Board at Washington is presumed to look to the representatives from that district. It thus also acquires the means of reconciling differences of policy or method when these conflict with the harmony of the entire system. To this end the annual free conference of delegates is of itself important. The persons sent as delegates to the National Board are usually such as have been actively engaged in the State Societies during the preceding year, and thus the local councils are enlightened by intercommunications of experience and opinion. Moreover the zeal of all who participate in such intercourse is stimulated, and the scope of their designs enlarged at the general meeting of friends of colonization. There results a fresh impulse to the movements of the auxiliary societies in their respective districts, and thus, while the central government is informed, and its discretion guarded, the agencies in immediate connexion with the public mind are enlivened and properly directed.

In order to encourage the increase of contributions to the chief treasury, and to fix some standard by which to apportion the weight due to the auxiliaries in the deliberations and resolutions of the National Board, the constitution makes the number of delegates dependent upon the amount of annual payments. This standard, which must be in many circumstances imperfect, is so in a peculiar degree when applied to an uncompleted system of State Societies, some of which must be in the first stage of development, and all of which must be in a condition of progress. The proper by work, which precedes the organization of every

Report of Committee on Representation of State Societies.

auxiliary, and during which a connexion with the parent society is of peculiar practical importance, must be performed before the receipts can become large enough to pay expenses, and also to furnish a net basis of representation. Hence, to afford to the smaller States and those in which societies are of recent origin, an opportunity to participate in the transaction of affairs of common interest, it would be requisite to credit them with the gross produce of their agencies. The practical advantage of this course has been recognized by the New York Colonization Journal, and by the Virginia Colonizationist, and your committee believe that it deserves to be received as an influential consideration in the defining of a basis of representation. Upon the whole it is concluded: 1st. That whatever basis shall be adopted, it ought to be as nearly uniform as possible for all auxiliary societies. 2d. That it ought to be such as to give to the societies having the fewest resources the earliest opportunity of which the constitution admits for active immediate connection with the parent board. 3d. That to accomplish these objects each society should be credited with its total expenditures, all of these being regarded as contributions to the chief treasury, but as partly disbursed for convenience by the local agency. An entry upon the other side of the account will show the deduction made by such disbursement, and the balance of the account will shew the net surplus, if any.

One obvious and great benefit would directly accrue to the parent Board from the adoption of this mode. It cannot be doubted that in judging of the economy of the whole system of organizations through which the policy of African colonization is executed, the comparative expense and fruitfulness of each auxiliary, and the proportion of the total pecuniary expenditure to the results secured must be important elements. Again, the intercommunication of knowledge of this kind must exert a salutary influence upon the auxiliaries through their respective delegates, by checking extravagance, and by stimulating both inquiry and zeal. Thus, in the details of fiscal agency, we may promote caution, enterprise, and thrift, and in the general management obtain more comprehensive views of the economy of our great work.

The principal objections which are known to have been suggested against the conclusions of your committee are the following:

1st. That the accounts of the financial officer of the American Society will be inconveniently enlarged, and that he will be compelled to encounter the labor of examining the vouchers for all expenditures.

It is sufficient, in reply to this objection, to say that as the auxiliary societies are not responsible to the American Society as principal in relation to the expenditure of monies, but owe their reckoning to the contributors; and as the object of the proposed account is the single one of ascertaining the number of delegates to be admitted to the American Board, there will be no necessity for entering into the details of expenditure. The notice of deductions for expenses will be made solely to discharge the Treasurer from responsibility for more than his own actual receipts. If comprised in a single item, his entry will be sufficiently explicit for this purpose. If it should be thought important hereafter to subdivide the gross deductions so as to show the principal objects of local expenditures, some general rule can at any time be established by the delegates when in conference at the session of the Board of Directors.

2d. Another objection suggested is that by adopting the basis of gross receipts, the delegations may become too large for convenience.

In answer to this it may be said that the work undertaken by the American Society is to transport a large body of people from the United States to Africa; to urge the exploration of the latter country; and to promote among the millions of its inhabitants arts, commerce, and general christian civilization; and to accomplish these objects by the aid of voluntary contributions from the citizens of every State of our Union, and by other instrumentalities governed by public opinion, and that consequently it is important to have a constant direct connexion with every influential district of every State. It will be remembered that the American Colonization Society does not hold with the Board of Directors the same practical relation which exists for most other associations. There is not in that society a numerous constituency, of which the Board of Directors is merely the Executive Committee. Our Board is the representation of the State Societies, and therefore of their constituency, and hence must be a numerous body to perform its theoretical functions. The time may come, perhaps ought to be hastened, when several delegates from each of more than thirty States shall assemble

Report of Committee on Representation of State Societies.

at Washington with reference to African colonization. In that case, the chief inconveniences of a numerous assembly must be encountered, whatever the basis, whether embracing the gross, or restricted to the net receipts.

It may be added that the cost of each delegation being in proportion to the number of its members, the State Societies will be restrained by this consideration from unnecessarily enlarging their representation.

The number of delegates from the larger States will be in any case less disproportioned to that from the smaller, if we included the expenses in all cases. In the present early stages of our undertaking, the committee are influenced mainly by the ideas of equality and effectiveness in the rule of representation, particularly as this may affect the younger and weaker local organizations.

11. With reference to moneys collected directly by the officers of the parent society, within the limits of territory assigned respectively to State organizations, it appears to have been the rule of the Board of Directors to credit each State Society with the funds received in this way from contributors within its jurisdiction, and therefore the extent of the basis in any such case could not have been immediately affected as respects actual representation upon the funds so obtained. But it ought not to be overlooked that the efficiency of the State Societies depends upon the confidence which they can excite in their respective districts, and that this confidence, as well as the liveliness and closeness of the public sympathy with them, are due in part to the frequency and in part to the success of their efforts, and that of these causes the former is embarrassed by external intervention, and the latter apparently diminished by the transit of funds through independent agencies, and that even the satisfaction and zeal of the members and officers of the local societies may be affected by a diminution of the visible proceeds of their labors. Moreover, looking to the perfection of the great system which we are constructing, it appears desirable that as far as practicable the State Societies shall be the collecting agents of the parent society within the States respectively. Thus a symmetry of duties and responsibilities may be maintained, and a nearer approach be secured to simplicity and uniformity. The importance of this view will be more clearly seen when it is remembered that agents of State Societies are continually travelling

in order to awaken public attention, and to ask contributions to the treasuries of those societies, and that the compensation of some of those agents is a percentage upon their collections.

111. In relation to life directorships the remarks of the committee will be understood as not proposing any retrospective action, but as directed only to the establishment of a future construction of the constitution.

1. The original design of life directorships appears to have been by the promise of a permanent and honorable share in the management of the Society's affairs, to encourage, in addition to ordinary contributions, special donations of one thousand dollars each. The phraseology of the constitution, (Article 3) is, "any citizen paying the sum of one thousand dollars shall be a director for life." The office is not created as a reward of zealous service, nor as a grade of function among the agents who conduct our business. The only qualification it requires in addition to citizenship, is the payment, *ad hoc*, of the sum of money mentioned. It seems to be obvious that the sole primary object was to enlarge the amount of contributions. The similar practice of other societies confirms this view. Other motives may influence the contributions of money so applied, e. g., when persons combine to bestow a life directorship upon one as a testimonial of respect, or to secure future services in the Board; but the constitution expresses only the requisite above stated.

2. There is no express provision for a duplicate representation upon any sum of one thousand dollars. The money performs its office in the creation of a Life Director, and to use it again for the purpose of making a basis for two annual delegates, would be an excess beyond the express warrant of the clause in question. This is true, however the sum employed may have been obtained, whether by a special appropriation by a State Society, from funds in its treasury, or by gift of individuals for the same object. Whether or not State Societies ought so to apply their general funds, is a question to be primarily settled between them and their contributors; but the American Board can see only the fact that the sum required by the constitution has been paid into its treasury to make a Life Director. Being actually received for this purpose, the money cannot properly be supposed to have been received a second time for

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another purpose, viz: that of representation of a State Society.

3. It may be objected that when individuals in any State give directly to the American Society the sum of one thousand dollars to make a Life Directorship, the money must be regarded as a part of the total receipts from that State, and, therefore, according to the usages of the American Board, ought to be reckoned with other receipts in favor of the society of that State in determining the number of its delegates. The answer to this argument is that the constitution does not make all moneys coming from any State a basis of representation, but the unavoidable construction is that for every five hundred dollars paid by a State Society, it shall be entitled to one delegate, and it is only by a fiction which supposes all contributions from a State to be from (or by reason of) the Society of that State, that the whole of such money is permitted to become basis of representation. Such sums as are paid for Life Directorships are, therefore, to be considered as though they had been in the treasury of a State Society, and thence paid to the chief treasury, in which cases, as is above shown, the function of that payment is exhausted by its first application.

4. To complete the circle of reasoning it may be added that for "every five hundred dollars" paid by a Society, the constitution expressly gives one delegate, therefore two for two such sums. To allow also a Life Directorship would be to give more efficiency to the money than is expressed in the law.

IV. With respect to the termini of the year of representation the constitution (article 5) allows one delegate "for every five hundred dollars paid into the treasury *within the year previous to the annual meeting.*" By article 4, this annual meeting is to take place on the third Tuesday in January. The obvious meaning, therefore, is that the year runs to the third Tuesday in January. But the Treasurer of the Society must prepare his report of finances in season for presentation at the annual meeting, and his fiscal year ends on the 31st of December, and it has been thought inconvenient to have too annual periods of account. The "year," mentioned in the 5th article, has been taken to mean *fiscal year*, so as to enable the treasurer to close his account of basis upon the 31st of December.

Whatever the Board may think proper to do, the committee do not feel at liberty to act upon any construction other than

that which results from the words of the clause in question taken according to common intendment. It is believed that whenever an interpretation of our fundamental law other than the most obvious one, is to be adopted, it should be formally presented to the Board by resolution, and fully discussed, so that both the peculiar interpretation, and the reasons for it, may be brought under general notice. The value of representation to the State Societies is yearly growing, and looking to the future increase of the work to be done by the National Board, we have ground for expecting the claim for admission of delegates to be strictly urged, particularly at periods of peculiar interest such as are likely to occur. The State societies have a right of representation to the extent permitted by the constitution, and it is not in the power of the Board to abridge that right for the sake of convenience. If, therefore, the words of the law are clear, the routine of office must be conformed to them.

In practice it has happened that the convenience of an auxiliary society has made it expedient to delay the completion of its annual collections until after the close of the general fiscal year, and as the theory assumed excluded a representation upon moneys so obtained, delegates constituted thereupon have applied to the Board for admission. If the delayed payments were, in consequence of such admission, included in the printed report of the American Society for the previous fiscal year, the Treasurer is not properly responsible for the irregularity. It seems due to the symmetry of his accounts that he be aided by a fixed rule.

There is no fiscal year mentioned in the constitution, and we are therefore left to the ordinary meaning of the words of the 5th article, explained by the 4th. That it was not designed to reduce all payments to one period of reckoning for privileges thereby obtained, is evident from the fact that by the 3d article every citizen who pays one dollar to the funds of the Society is made a member of it "for one year from the time of such payment."

There can be little inconvenience in following the words of the constitution. The methodical procedure of the Board in ascertaining the delegates entitled to admission, requires that there be prepared and presented on the authority of the Treasurer, at the opening of the annual session, a schedule exhibiting the amounts received from the State Societies respectively, during the previous year; and it

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cannot appreciably add to the trouble of preparing such a schedule, to insert in it the receipts between the 31st of December and the 3d Tuesday of January. To the printed report of the officer, this schedule might be appended under an appropriate head, as a separate exhibit for the general information of members of the American and auxiliary societies; but it would in no particular interfere with the routine of the Treasurer's books. His fiscal year would remain the same as heretofore; and upon his presentation of the schedule to the Board, the subject would cease to require his attention.

Upon the whole, the committee invite the decision of the Board upon the following resolutions.

1. *Resolved*, that in the accounts of the Treasurer of the American Colonization Society, the societies auxiliary to it shall be respectively charged with the gross amount of their collections of monies for the objects of said American Society, and shall be credited by all payments made by them, as far as such collections and payments shall come to the knowledge of the treasurer by official report to him on the part of such auxiliaries respectively.

2. *Resolved*, that at the opening of each stated yearly session of this Board it shall be the duty of the Treasurer to present to it a schedule exhibiting the total amount of collections and payments made for the objects of the American Colonization Society by each auxiliary society during the twelve months, ending at the then next preceding annual meeting of the said American Colonization Society; and the evidence of said collections and payments for this purpose shall be the regular entries in said Treasurer's official books of account, and as to any particulars not comprehended in said entries such certificates signed by the Treasurers of the auxiliary societies respectively as shall be received by him before said annual meeting; and all payments made for life directorships shall be separately stated in said schedule.

Resolved, that with the exception of any payments for life directorships the schedule required by the foregoing resolution shall, to the extent of the payments therein credited to the auxiliary societies, be prima facie evidence of the number of delegates to which said societies shall respectively be entitled under the fifth article of the constitution.

Resolved, that no money appropriated to the making of a life director shall be reckoned as basis of representation of any

auxiliary society under the fifth article of the constitution.

Resolved, that a copy of the foregoing resolutions be furnished by the Executive Committee, to each auxiliary society, with a request to furnish to the Treasurer of the American Colonization Society the certificates therein mentioned.

In relation to collections by the parent society, in States or districts in which an auxiliary society exists, the committee recommend a strict adherence to the resolution adopted at the session of this Board in the year 1851.

W. PARKER FOULKE,
JOHN MORRIS PEASE,
J. G. GOBLE.

Rev. Mr. Tracy, of the said Committee, presented the following minority report:

The undersigned, a member of the committee appointed at the last annual meeting, to report at this meeting "a mode in which the representation of the State Societies shall be thereafter apportioned," dissenting from some of the views of the majority, begs leave to present the following

MINORITY REPORT.

The constitution, article 5, provides that each State Society, or society for the District of Columbia or for any Territory of the United States, "shall be entitled to one delegate for every five hundred dollars paid into the treasury of this society within the year previous to the annual meeting."

This rule, the directors have no power to change. It must stand and be executed, till changed by an amendment of the Constitution, as provided in article 9.

The words of the constitution appear, at first sight, too plain to need interpreting; but experience has disclosed some points, to which different interpretations have been plausibly applied; and those conflicting interpretations, as all who were present will recollect, led to the appointment of this committee.

The constitution provides that each of the societies represented "shall be entitled to one delegate for every five hundred dollars paid into the treasury of this society within the year previous to the annual meeting."

By whom must this five hundred dollars be paid? Evidently, by the society which claims a representation in virtue of the payment.

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Some, at first, understood it to mean, that the money must actually have passed through the treasury of the State Society into the treasury at Washington. But this was early seen to work injustice ; as money given by members of a State Society, and through the solicitation of its agents, was sometimes, to save time, or from other motives of convenience, sent directly to the treasury at Washington, and did not actually pass through the treasury of the State Society, by whose labors and at whose expense it had been raised. Testators, too, who had been induced by the labors of a State society to bequeath money for Colonization, have bequeathed it directly to the American Society, because, being an incorporated institution, it could collect the bequests with more ease and certainty. And even when an agent of the American Society has entered the limits of a State and procured money from individuals by personal solicitation, no small part of the money thus obtained has been from persons whom the State Society had made willing to give, and who would have given it to the State Society, if that agent had not appeared. For many years, it has been agreed that all such monies shall be considered as "paid" by the society of the State or Territory from which they are received. And this is believed to be an equitable and right interpretation. Within a few years, it has been observed that the same reasonings apply, in some degree, to monies received in payment for the African Repository, and they have been added to the others, as a basis of representation ; from this, the committee see no reason to dissent.

Another question has been raised. What is meant by money being "paid into the treasury of this Society?" Does it apply to anything but cash, actually received by the Treasurer at Washington?

It certainly applies to all money paid to the agents of this Society, duly authorized to receive it ; and all money paid to the creditors of this Society, by order of its Treasurer or other proper officer ; and all money expended in purchases, made at his request, on his account ; all money, in short, expended by order or request of the Treasurer of this Society, in meeting expenses for which the treasury of this Society is liable. If a State Society is employed by this society as its agent, with discretionary power, to accomplish a certain object and pay the expense, then the money paid for that object, if it does not exceed the limits of a reasonable discre-

tion, is equitably considered as "paid into the treasury of this Society."

Some have thought that all monies raised and expended by any State Society, should be reckoned as a basis of representation ; but this clearly cannot be, without an amendment of the constitution. The money with which a State Society fits up its own rooms, and pays its own officers and agents, is not, in any sense, "paid into the treasury of this Society." Money which a State Society may expend, either in this country or in Liberia, in doing things which this Society does not think fit to do, or even in doing undoubtedly right things, in a manner which this Society does not approve, and to which it does not assent, are in no sense paid into its treasury. A State Society can, if it will, land emigrants in Liberia at such a time, or in such a place, or under such other circumstances, as greatly to embarrass the operations of this Society, and thus require heavy payments from its treasury, to avert disaster. Funds so expended are not, in any reasonable sense, paid into our treasury ; for their expenditure, instead of aiding our treasury, embarrasses it. A State Society may expend money in giving such extra aid to emigrants, as this Society deems injudicious, and would not give ; or for such internal improvements in Liberia, as this Society thinks it unwise to engage in ; or for the purchase of land, which this Society does not wish to purchase ; or in commercial transactions, with which this Society does not think it safe to be connected ; or in commencing a new settlement, where this Society thinks it inexpedient to commence one at present. No money so expended, even if the State Society should prove to be the wiser of the two, and the expenditure judicious, can with propriety be reckoned as "paid into the treasury of this Society."

No State Society can be entitled to a representation in this body, on account of money which it expends on objects that are its own and not ours. The Maryland Colonization Society has been expending some \$10,000 a year on its Colony at Cape Palmas, greatly to the benefit of the general cause of Colonization. But as that Society conducts its business on its own responsibility, according to its own discretion, independently of this Board and of its Executive Committee, it cannot, after expending all its own money in its own way, send twenty delegates to this Board, to tell us how we shall expend ours. This would be neither constitutional, nor equita-

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ble, and that Society has never demanded it. Nor, if it should subject half of its \$10,000 a year to our disposal, could it claim a representation for the other half, still kept in its own hands, or expended at its own discretion.

It may be said, as it has been, that in some cases, the money paid by a State Society to its Secretary, as salary, has been counted as paid into the treasury of the National Society, and thus as a basis of representation. In such cases, however, the facts are, or ought to be, that the Secretary of the State Society is an agent of the National society, appointed and commissioned by the Executive Committee, laboring under their direction, and paying over the proceeds of his labors to the treasurer of the National Society, or his order. In such a case, it is perfectly proper and constitutional, that the National Society should pay his salary. If the Society of the State where such an agent labors, chooses him for its Secretary, and pays the orders drawn on its treasury for his salary, the money so paid is, virtually, paid into the treasury of the National Society.

Some advantages would be gained, though perhaps at too high a cost, if all the State Societies would place themselves in this relation to the central power at Washington. It would enable the Executive Committee to carry on the whole work of Colonization on one uniform system. It would save some of the expenses now incurred by the State Societies. It would prevent the expenditure of funds by State societies, in ways not exactly harmonizing with the policy of the National Society. It would enable the Executive Committee to foresee, with greater certainty, what amount of means would be at their disposal, and when. It would leave them a freer field for appeal, whenever a special appeal for funds may be needed. In short, it would secure all the advantages which arise from placing all the parts of a great movement under the control of one central power. And of course it would be liable to all the objections, which always attend the concentration of power.

Such an arrangement, however, even if it were clearly desirable, it is not in the power of this Board of Directors to secure. The State Societies are self-subsisting bodies, not dependent on us for their existence, or their powers. Some of them are accustomed to the transaction of business on their own account, and according to their own discretion. Some of them remember

the time when the management, or the misfortunes of the National Society had been such, that it failed to command success, or to retain confidence; and when, to save the work of Colonization from absolutely stopping, they were obliged to take its burden on their own shoulders; to lay their own plans, and execute them with their own funds. It cannot be expected, therefore, that they will consent to become the mere obedient agencies of a power which they, by their independent action, once saved from utter ruin. Perhaps they ought not. Perhaps they ought to retain a position, in which they can successfully meet another similar crisis, if one should occur. Meanwhile, they may act as agencies of the National Society, so far as its policy meets their approbation, and may justly claim to be represented for all the funds they expend as its agents; but for funds which they expend on their own account, according to their own discretion, and not as agents of the National Society, they cannot claim representation. If a State Society will consent that the National Society shall select its Secretary, agents and all paid officers and servants, appoint them, commission them, fix their compensation, direct their labors, and control the expenditure of the proceeds, it may claim to be represented for all these expenditures. But funds which have never been placed at the disposal of the National Society, and over which it has never had any control, cannot be said to have been paid into its treasury, and therefore cannot be a basis of representation.

Another question of interpretation is raised by a resolution, which was presented and referred to this committee. It is as follows:

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Board, the clause in the third article of the constitution, saying that 'any citizen paying the sum of one thousand dollars, shall be a Director for life,' does not contemplate the instituting of Life Directorships by State Societies, on the basis of the miscellaneous contributions of the people."

Doubtless, the words of the resolution are literally true. The clause referred to, requires that the thousand dollars be paid by the citizen who is made a Life Director by the payment; and it does not contemplate the raising of this amount by small contributions, and its passing through the treasury of a State Society to the hands of the donor. Still, if any citizen pays a thousand dollars to the funds of this society, the words of the constitution bind us to

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receive him as a Director for life. We have no authority to go behind the fact of that payment, and ask whether the money came into his hands in a proper way. Even if the fact should come to our knowledge, that it was a present to him from a State Society, we have no authority to reject him on that account. Nor have we any authority to inquire whether, in making such a present, the State Society has made a right use of its funds. That is a question for the State Society and its contributors, and for them only.

It is plain, however, that the citizen who makes himself a Director for life, must himself, personally or by his agent, pay "the sum of one thousand dollars" to "the funds of this Society." It must come, or be regarded as coming, into our treasury from him, and not from the State Society. Hence, that society, not having paid it into our treasury, cannot claim it as a basis of representation.

The following rules are, therefore, reported, as being, in the opinion of the undersigned, agreeable to the constitution, and sufficient for our guidance.

1. Any citizen of the United States, paying personally or by his agent, the sum of one thousand dollars to the funds of this Society, must be received as a Director for life, without inquiring how he obtained the money.

2. All other funds received into the treasury of this Society from inhabitants of any State or Territory where there is an auxiliary society, or from inhabitants of the District of Columbia, if there shall be an auxiliary in said District, whether by donation, annual subscription, bequest, or in payment for the African Repository, shall be considered as received from the auxiliary society of such State, Territory, or district, and shall be reckoned as a basis of representation.

3. All moneys paid from the treasury of any State, Territorial, or District society aforesaid, by the request, or with the previous assent of this Society, expressed through its proper officers, shall be considered as paid into the treasury of this Society, and shall be reckoned as a basis of representation.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH TRACY.

Dr. Reese, in behalf of Mr. Scheiffelin, chairman of the Committee appointed at the last annual meeting of the Board, to whom was referred the subject of steam communication between the United States

and Liberia, presented the following report:

The Committee appointed in reference to the subject of steam communication with Liberia, and also to make application to Government for aid to the same, would respectfully report—

That, according to the discretion given to them, they reported in July last to the Executive Committee, as to the kind, size, and cost of steamer requisite, the cost of running her, probable income, &c., and that the annual deficiency of one such steamer, making four voyages a year, would be about \$50,000, a copy of the said report being annexed hereto.

There would also be needed, in addition to the cost of the steamer, \$25,000 or \$30,000 for a depot of coal in Africa, and her running expenses, insurance, &c., before returns would come in.

The committee would further report that, at a suggestion in a resolution of the Executive Committee of 17th June last, they called a meeting of the friends of the enterprise, which was held in New York on the 20th July, the Hon. J. H. B. Latrobe presiding, Rev. Joseph Tracy, Secretary, when, as the resolution of the Board of Directors prohibited any action that would involve the Society in any pecuniary responsibility, and as a corporate company had been formed by some friends for the same object, it was

Resolved, As the opinion of the meeting, that it would be advisable for the Rev. R. R. Gurley to direct his efforts to obtaining subscriptions to the capital stock of the United States and Liberia Steamship Company, provided the articles of association of the company be so amended as to appropriate any excess of profits (over 7 per cent. and a proper sinking fund created) to the use of the American Colonization Society, and with a further understanding that sails may be substituted for steam in the discretion of the Directors of the company. It was further resolved, that in thus expressing their opinion, the meeting had no purpose to interfere with the operation of the resolution of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society in regard to steam communication with Africa, and look to the action of the Executive Committee as giving efficiency to their recommendation.

The committee recommended these resolutions to the favorable consideration of the Executive Committee, and respectfully asked their aid in giving them effect.

With regard to the application to Con-

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gress the committee were advised and believed that, owing to the introduction of the Nebraska bill, and the consequent excitement, the time would be unpropitious for such application, and, therefore, have not urged it.

H. M. SCHEIFFELIN,
THOS. W. WILLIAMS,
Committee.

Report of the Committee on Steamships to Liberia, made to the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society, July 28, 1854.

The Committee appointed at the annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, on the subject of steam communication between the United States and Liberia, would respectfully report :

That after a careful investigation of the subject and information derived from various merchants experienced in running steamers, they have been led to the following conclusions :

1st. That an auxiliary screw propeller is preferable to a side-wheel steamer for long voyages, being better adapted to the use of sails, and affording more room for fuel, freight and passengers—for example, the screw-propeller Glasgow, of 2,000 tons, carries as much freight as a side-wheel steamer of the Collins line of 3,000 tons. The Glasgow is running without government aid, with reputed success, in competition with the side-wheel steamers having that aid. A very able work entitled "Treatise on the marine engine, and on steam vessels and the screw, by Robert Murray, C. E. London, 1852"—page 135, comparing the cost and expenses of running full-powered vessels, propelled by paddle-wheels, and auxiliary screw-steamers, after stating with minuteness the various items of expense of each—shows results still greater in favor of the auxiliary screw.

2d. As to size, she should not be less than 1,200 tons. She should carry 350 passengers, with their baggage, provisions, and water, also other freight not less than 400 tons, or 3,200 barrels, with 500 tons coal, besides accommodations for the officers and crew. As a general rule, larger vessels can be run with more economy, where the trade is sufficient, than small ones. She should be of moderate horsepower, and run at an average speed of 8 miles per hour, making the passage in 22 or 23 days, quicker time requiring a consumption of coal very much greater in proportion than the gain in speed, the

room for which is a very important consideration in a voyage so long, that a greater part of the vessel must necessarily be taken up with the engine, boiler, and fuel, and where in the absence of competition a day or two more or less in the passage is not of so much consequence.

3d. She would cost about \$120,000, and would consume about 20 tons of coal per day. She would make four or five voyages per year as might be required, and in case four voyages per annum, her expenses, including insurance, repairs, and depreciation, &c., cannot safely be estimated at less than \$27,000 per voyage out and back, and the interval between voyages (and still more, if in those intervals she should have to proceed to different ports for her passengers) equal to \$9,000 per month. The owner of the Star of the South, propeller of 980 tons, running between New Orleans and New York, has kindly furnished the aggregate of running expenses as \$6,000 per month, her consumption of hard coal being 23 tons per day. This would show the above not over-estimated, considering the larger size of the steamer proposed, the consequent more expensive manning, more continued running, and one half of the fuel or nearly so to be purchased on or near the coast of Africa.

Assuming four voyages per year to cost \$108,000, we next refer to the probable income of the vessel. The total amount paid by the American Colonization Society during the year 1853, for freight and passage, was..... \$15,669
53 passengers were also sent from New York, which, if at \$30 each, would be..... 1,590

17,259

The prices paid by the American Colonization Society were \$30 for adults and \$15 for children under 12 years of age for passage and provisions, the proportion of each last year made the average cost \$24 12, two barrels freight room extra allowed to each free, besides their baggage and some furniture also carried free. Other freight charged at \$1 50 per barrel to the Society.

Supposing the steamer should average 200 passengers each voyage, their passage money, at \$24 12 each, would be..... \$4,824
Less their provisions 23 days,
at 30 cents each per day.... 1,380

3,444

Freight allowed free, 2 barrels each passenger, would be 400 barrels, leaving, besides

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room for baggage and furniture, freight room for 2,800 barrels, at \$2 each.....	5,600
Furniture, luggage, and some extra freight, sufficient to balance occasional short supply might be stowed in unoccupied passenger accommodations return freight, say 5,500 bbls., at \$2..	\$11,000
Less for average short supply, which will partly be obviated when a regular trade shall be developed by increased facilities of intercourse, now say 50 per ct..	5,500
	<u>5,500</u>

Making as the probable income from each round voyage.... 14,544

leaving the probable deficiency per voyage \$12,500, or for four voyages per annum \$50,000, which deficiency, besides interest on cost of ship, should, in the opinion of the committee, be amply provided for by government aid in such manner as to secure the maintenance of the running of the steamers, before any steps are taken except the procuring of subscriptions.

With regard to the application to government for aid, with which the committee is also entrusted, the committee are of opinion that any enterprise, in the profits of which individuals are concerned, will be looked upon with jealousy, and that such application should be made on condition that the profits, if any, at least after paying interest on subscriptions and the principal, after a term of years, should go to the support and extension of steam intercommunication; and in order that in case of a failure to procure government aid, the next best means of intercommunication may be secured, the committee recommend that the subscriptions be obtained, with the condition as far as possible that if a steamer cannot be had, the amount, or such part thereof as the subscribers may be willing to have applied to the running of sailing vessels, under the management of the American Colonization Society, may be so applied.

It will probably be found that during a portion of the voyage of a steamer, the wind and sails may be relied on with considerable certainty for an eight-knot speed, when the use of steam may be dispensed with. This will both lessen the cost of

fuel and the quantity to be carried to that extent.

H. M. SCHEIFFELIN,
THOS. W. WILLIAMS,
JAMES HALL,
Committee.

Dr. Hall, of the said committee, presented the following minority report:

The undersigned, one of the committee, whose reports have just been laid before the Board of Directors, begs leave most respectfully to present his views in regard to the subject matter of the same, not materially conflicting with their general tenor, or with the views of the majority of the committee; but there are certain points connected with the subject submitted to the committee, which he deems important to be laid more fully before the Board of Directors, requiring their consideration and action. The undersigned believes his views might have been embodied in the reports just read, or the views of the entire committee been made to harmonize, so as to render this trespass upon the time of the Board unnecessary, had he been able to meet and confer personally with the other members of the committee.

It will be remembered that to this one committee, appointed at the last annual meeting of the Board of Directors, were referred two resolutions, presented by different individuals at different times, during the session of the Board in January last. One presented on the 1st day of the session is as follows:

"Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed by the President to take such steps as they shall deem expedient for obtaining from the Congress of the United States aid towards the establishment and maintenance of a mail line of steamers from the United States to Liberia."

The other, under which the committee has mainly acted, was adopted the next day, as follows:

"Resolved, That the subject of steam communication between the United States and Liberia, in view of promoting and cheapening emigration, be referred to a Committee whose duty it shall be to report to the next meeting of the Board such information as they may be able to obtain upon the subject, or to report, if they see fit, at an earlier date to the Executive Committee, which last is hereby authorized to lend such aid, on the part of the Society, to the furtherance of the plan, as they may be able to do without involving the Society in pecuniary responsibility."

Report of Committee on Secretaryships.

The undersigned conceives that the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, in thus referring the entire matter of steam connexion with Liberia to a committee of its own members, intended that they should act as members of the American Colonization Society, and for the American Colonization Society; that the aid to be sought from Congress was to be in aid of, and for this Society, and the information to be obtained in regard to the whole subject was also to be for the immediate use of this Society. In short, that the Society intended to keep the matter in its own hands.

The undersigned endorsed the able report of the chairman of the committee, which was laid before the Executive Committee of the Society on the 28th July, although he would gladly have annulled the paragraph giving countenance, under any contingency, to any party other than the American Colonization Society itself, receiving aid from government, but he considered that the presentation of the report, as before stated, closed the business of this committee until the next annual meeting of the Board of Directors. This, however, proved not to be the case, as appears from a subsequent report, signed by a majority of the committee, just laid before the Board. This report the undersigned would also most readily endorse and approve of did he not by so doing indirectly endorse a resolution therein embodied, passed at a meeting of the friends of colonization held in New York in July last, directing or advising the general agent of the Society, the Rev. Mr. Gurley, to devote himself to the business of obtaining subscriptions to the stock of the United States and Liberia Steamship Company, under certain provisions and contingencies. This, although followed by another resolution, disclaiming any interference with the resolutions of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society in regard to steam communication with Liberia, the undersigned believes to be most prejudicial to the cause of colonization, and tending to defer to a longer period the establishment of regular and frequent connection with Liberia.

It cannot be supposed that with the utmost aid we could, under any circumstances, expect from government, from the American Colonization Society, and all its friends, more than one line of steamers, or even sailing vessels, could be supported or kept running. The least injury, then, that is to be apprehended from the action of the meeting in New York, is confusion

in regard to the whole matter, division of counsels and want of confidence.

The undersigned conceives that the transporting of emigrants hence to Liberia is the legitimate and the main business of this Society, that this Society is as able in all respects to do this as well as any other party, individual or associated; that this Society possesses to as great an extent as any other party, the confidence of the people and of the Government of this country; that this Society can procure as able agents and assistants in its business concerns of shipping emigrants, provisions and merchandise, necessary for their support, and of chartering or owning and navigating steam or sailing vessels, as any other party.

Furthermore, the undersigned maintains, that the control and direction of a line of steamers or sailing vessels between this country and Liberia, whether aided by the Government or not, is to a certain extent a power and an influence. That such power and influence of right belongs to the Am. Col. Society, of which it would be injudicious and unwise to divest itself, or make over to any other party, under any provision or contingency likely to be proposed.

In conclusion, the undersigned would most respectfully urge this Board to adopt expective measures, to procure for this Society a sailing vessel, to be run between this country and Liberia, until appropriations shall be obtained from Government that will enable the Society to run a steamer if then considered advisable. All of which is most respectfully submitted.

JAMES HALL,
One of the Committee.

Mr. Foulke, chairman of the Committee appointed at the last annual meeting of the Board, to whom was referred the resolution respecting Secretaryships of the Society, presented the following report:

To the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society:

The Committee appointed under the following resolution:

"Resolved, that a committee of five be appointed to report the number of secretaryships which in their opinion it will be expedient to establish under the recent amendment of the constitution; also to define the duties of each, and to suggest such compensation as they may think proper to affix to each; and that they report at the next annual meeting of this Board," now respectfully report:

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That in the execution of their duty they have observed that the amendment of the constitution referred to in the resolution above quoted, was adopted in order to enable the Board to appoint more secretaries than the one authorized under the constitution as it previously stood; and that they regard this special measure, taken in connection with their own appointment to recommend the proper number of secretaries, and to define the limits of their functions, as expressive of the opinion of the Board that an addition to the number of its officers is expedient.

In the performance of the duty thus assigned to them, the committee have endeavored to keep in view the fact, that the expenses incident to the operations of the Society must be paid out of funds contributed voluntarily for the purposes of African Colonization; and that consequently any multiplication of the agencies employed should be restricted to the rigid demands of an ascertained necessity. But they have also noticed that not only is the Society a trustee of funds, but, from its position, circumstances give to it exclusive possession of the field of its labor; and that it is therefore under obligation both to adopt all the means required for the attainment of its professed object; and to do this consistently with a just economy of its resources. We are thus urged by peculiar motives on the one hand to omit no reasonable and practicable measures, and on the other, to give to these their proper efficacy without excessive diminution of the funds confided to us.

The motives which have induced the Society to authorize an augmentation of its executive corps, are the same which ought to guide the committee in adjusting the limits of the proposed enlargement; and they therefore briefly review the objects of the Society, and the principal reasons which have been suggested for a change in the organization by which those objects are to be attained.

The constitution states in general terms that the Society is organized "to promote and execute a plan for colonizing with their own consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient." This statement comprehends several important elements, viz:

1. The consent of the free people of color, including those held to service who shall be released therefrom, as well as those already free and their descendants.

2. Pecuniary means to secure their transportation to a place of shipment,

and their conveyance with provisions to the place of colonization.

- 3d. Their suitable settlement in such place.

It might have been anticipated, *a priori*, that for the accomplishment of such a design various and extensive means would be necessary. The number of persons to be transported; their "consent;" the cost of their removal; the procuring and securing of a suitable settlement; the state of public opinion; the embarrassments occasioned by special relationships of our design to different sections of our country; the absence of active aid on the part of the public authorities, and the constant dependence upon private voluntary contribution, have been subjects demanding the employment of numerous modes of influence, and unceasing industry. Considering the actual results of the efforts heretofore made, we may be convinced of the practicability of the original design of the Society; and we may admire the success which already commands the respect of the civilized world. Upon a coast lately given up to the control of slave traders and pirates, we see a Republic with institutions like our own; possessing a territory several hundred miles in length; enjoying a trade amounting in the total of exports and imports to nearly a million of dollars per annum, and with a jurisdiction comprehending for many important purposes, a native population of between 100,000, and 200,000. Contemplating such results, we may be disposed to believe that the means which have produced them in little more than thirty years, are shown experimentally to be sufficient for the work which has been undertaken. But a little reflection must satisfy us that our judgment is to be guided not by the proportion of means to the actual achievements of the Society, but to the great object for which it was constituted, and which remains to be accomplished. That object is not merely to establish a Republic in Africa, but it is to obtain the consent of the free colored population of the United States to emigrate; and also to transport and securely colonize them. For these ends, what has been heretofore done is only preparatory; and while it may corroborate the reasoning which governed the selection of our general plan of operations, it cannot be regarded as affording a conclusive measure of the scale according to which that plan is to be executed. A single illustration will suffice to render this distinction clear. By the federal census it appears that between the years 1820 and

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1850, the increase of the free colored people of the United States amounted to about 200,000. The emigrants of this class colonized by our Society during the same period amounted to about 2300. The number of persons emancipated with a view to their emigration to Liberia is reported for the same period at about 3600. Supposing then that no impediments exist for the free colored population now reaching nearly half a million in number, other than such as were in the way of those who have emigrated, we are still assured that the means heretofore employed are inadequate even to the removal of the annual increase. If we add to our estimate the persons who are likely to be emancipated by those holding them to service, and for whose emigration the Society ought to provide, the total of subjects for colonization will be swelled vastly beyond the sufficiency, of our present resources.

It is further observable that if we assume the means of shipment to be ultimately certain, whether through our own financial arrangements alone, or with the aid of such voluntary support as is given to the emigration of whites from Europe to the United States, yet the measures by which this result is to be reached, and the rate of our progress towards it, must depend, at least primarily, upon the efforts of the Society. It is well known that the initial necessities of our enterprise have limited us to a narrow strip of the African coast. The paucity of our resources at home; the existence of the slave trade; the occupancy of native tribes; the slow rate of emigration; and the difficulties incident to the first stages of development of our infant settlements, have restricted our proceedings to the seaboard. Yet it is unquestionable that with respect to the healthiness and energy of the colonists, and the growth of their agriculture as a basis of commercial population, it is required of us to open the way to the occupation of the upper country; and to this end we must encourage the exploration of the region east of Liberia; the procuring of land by purchase, or by treaty for jurisdiction; the opening of roads, and the establishment of safe and comfortable colonial posts by which to connect the interior with the coast. Moreover, whether as a just accommodation of our African settlers, or as a means of inducement to future emigration, there must be secured a rapid and easy communication between the United States and Liberia for the conveyance of mails as well as for the transportation of passengers; so that it is not

enough for us to await the remote consequences of the causes already put in operation. It is improbable that any general spontaneous movement of our colored people will be made, until we shall have cleared their prospects by the measures just mentioned.

The Board will not overlook the fact that although the Republic of Liberia has been rendered in a political sense independent, and that her public authorities are therefore to receive all the consideration which belongs to that position, yet in relation to the external conditions of the new State, and to the influx of population stimulated and directed by the Society, peculiar motives exist to render our intervention not only proper but even obligatory. Liberia may equitably demand of us to do whatever shall be necessary to protect her young community against excessive pressure upon her means of subsistence, and to furnish those avenues to progress which were implied when we invited her people to encounter the labor of her first and most difficult social and political undertakings.

It will be evident to the Board that some of the objects of the Society are such as to invite the action of our Federal Government upon its own grounds of policy, and without reference to the peculiarities of our special enterprise. Of these it will be enough to mention the exploration of Africa, the maintenance of a coast squadron, and the authorization of a mail-service with proper compensation. With respect to the formal recognition of the republic of Liberia, the Society cannot be acquitted of its duty until it shall have seasonably made every proper representation to our Government; and although we cannot be properly held responsible for the fortunes of such an application, connected as it must be with questions over which our association has no control, yet the office of advocate results from our relationship to the African State; and its claims upon our efforts are strengthened by our peculiar means of information as well as by the advantages possessed by our organization in connection with the public confidence.

The system by which it has been expected to carry into complete effect the great design of the Society, consists of State and Territorial Societies acting as auxiliaries to a central National Society. This wisely conceived plan, which not only harmonizes with the political relationships of the States, and the habits of thinking, and the public usages of their

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people, but affords the best facilities for creating and concentrating local influence, has been only partially executed. About one half of the states are without auxiliaries. Fortunately those which have been established have been so located as to afford a representation of the various relationships of our enterprise to the different opinions and interests existing in the United States; and the deficiency is now rather in the quantity than in the character of the aid given to our counsels and our treasury; but viewed in connection with the magnitude of the work undertaken, this deficiency must excite the most serious concern in the mind of every zealous friend of African colonization. Some of the auxiliaries are of recent establishment; and some of them have had the benefit of the force of appeal which results from the concentrated action of a completed system operating in favor of a matured method of colonization. In some parts of our country the Society endeavors to supply its want in a degree by special agencies. The contributions which from every source reach the central treasury, are applied to the intended uses by a single executive officer, who is at once secretary, treasurer, and financial and commercial agent. He is assisted by a co-adjutor who keeps the records and conducts the routine of our publications; and by a book-keeper. He has also the co-operation of an advisory committee, which holds such executive authority comprehended in that of the Board of Directors as is required to be exercised during the intervals between the annual sessions of the Board.

It is evident that as the ultimate object of the Society is to colonize men in Africa, in the circumstances best suited to their self-maintenance, and to their social and political elevation, and as this object is to be realized proximately through the financial and commercial department of official agency, it is in effect for that department that all of our instrumentalities are employed. To it all of our efforts must tend. It is the reservoir which must receive the available fruits of those efforts, and from which our drafts must be made for application to practical measures. Numerous auxiliaries may obtain for us money and emigrants, and aid in producing such public opinion as will procure the authorization, by the federal government, of exploration, and intercommunication by frequent mails; but the ultimate object of all these proceedings, viz: *the colonizing of free people of color*, must be realized through the department in question, or with its co-

operation. The growth of its business, and its general importance must therefore be in proportion to the enlargement of the productive machinery by which it is fed.

It being understood that the purpose of the Board, in the resolution adopted, was not merely to provide assistance for the transaction of the office work heretofore executed, but for the *augmentation* of that work, we have a convenient mode of exhibiting the need of a re-organization, and the quarter in which it is to be primarily suggested. The energy and special skill of the present treasurer and secretary in the administration of financial and commercial affairs, have become well known to the Board. It is only just to presume that what could be accomplished by his industry, has been done by him to the extent of any reasonable requirement. We have therefore a proper standard by which to judge of the capabilities of the actual organization. Let it then be supposed that to his accustomed duties we add the following, and it can scarcely be doubted that the aggregate would be too great for a single direction:

1. The completion of our system of auxiliaries.

2. The harmonizing of their relationships, and the promotion of consistency and uniformity among them.

3. The strengthening of our relations with the legislative and executive departments of the Federal Government.

4. Correspondence with more than thirty States to excite, or to suggest modifications of activity, keeping open the communications of the central Society with the sources of influence on which it is dependent.

5. The promotion of special measures in favor of a recognition of the Liberian Republic, the opening and settlement of new territory, and the establishment of sufficient facilities for emigration and mail carriage.

6. The general correspondence incident to every association having external relations, as well as that which is demanded by emergencies, such as misapprehension of our spirit and policy, whether in general or on particular occasions affecting the local connexions of the Society, or the opinions and temper of individuals whose agency may be important to its success.

The experience of the Board will supply the exemplification by which all of these topics have been illustrated as worthy of serious regard, and their complete treatment will probably require hereafter more labor than could be given by any individ-

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ual, even if unembarrassed by other occupations. They certainly need at present a more concentrated and continuous attention than can be bestowed upon them by an officer responsible for the grave functions peculiar to our financial and commercial agency. The committee are influenced also by the consideration that the end of all our exertions is not only to be secured, but is to be hastened; and hence, if it were practicable to reach it by the means now used, it would still be our duty to enlarge these in order to diminish the time which must elapse before the consummation of our design.

It is doubtless important to avoid excessive interference with an accustomed arrangement of official proceedings, and hence as close an adherence as practicable should be maintained to the actual order of our business. Yet when providing for the future by a reorganization of executive duties which is meant to embrace the principal subjects which can at any time claim our attention, it is incumbent upon us to regulate our distribution of the field, so that we may multiply our agencies *pro re nata*, without disturbing the main frame of the system. The definition of departments ought to be permanent, and the development of their details will in that case be easily and naturally made to keep pace with the increase of the work to be done by them respectively. It is of course impossible to limit them with a logical strictness which shall exclude all cavil. The subdivisions of executive labor assigned to the chief officers of the Federal Government are expressed in phraseology which a critical nicety might show to admit of a conflict of jurisdiction; yet a practical construction, guided by the known general scope of each department, easily regulates the course of official action. Your committee believe that the classification of duties which they are about to recommend will occasion no doubt in the mind of any secretary who shall be desirous to perform his own share in a becoming temper. Any other spirit than this would render an officer unfit to serve the Board under any organization.

We have already the receipt and custody of funds from every quarter, and their application to the objects of the Society, viz: the maintenance of the means of transportation, and the actual conveyance of emigrants to our own seaboard, their provisioning and shipment, and their proper establishment in Liberia. These subjects ought to be under the direction of one

head. They are intimately connected one with another, and they require the same kind of official experience and skill. The special correspondence with reference to them should obviously be under the same control.

For the ordinary personal communications between the Society and the parties with whom its affairs are transacted in the different States, the Board has already appointed a general travelling agent. If the efforts of the Society are to be extended in the manner contemplated by your committee, the policy of that appointment will be confirmed.

For the keeping of our records, and the preparation of our publications, we have already a Secretary.

It remains then only to provide for the class of services which have been particularized as heretofore imperfectly supplied by reason of the engrossment by other engagements of the only officer to whom the Board could look for their performance. These services, your committee believe, may be conveniently grouped under one head, and with this distribution, any enlargement of the demand from without can be met by the simple expedient of adding from time to time an assistant in the department in which he may be needed. The peculiar character of the duties proposed for the new secretaryship will make it proper to give to the incumbent an influence in connexion with our publications so that he may be enabled to prevent any disturbance of the consistency of our measures in relation to the public mind, and also that he may use our press as special exigencies shall render expedient for the more extensive and effective diffusion of the views to be represented on the part of the Society.

Upon the whole your committee think that they will accomplish the design of the Board by adding a single department, and they therefore propose for the adoption of the Board the following resolution.

Resolved, That there shall be a Corresponding Secretary, whose duty it shall be to conduct the general correspondence of the Society, and to superintend its publications.

In order to define expressly the duties of the other principal officers, your committee recommend also the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, That there shall be a Financial Secretary, whose duty it shall be to

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receive, keep, and disburse the funds of the Society; to manage the procuring and outfit of vessels, the shipment of emigrants, and generally the financial and commercial transactions of the Society, and to conduct the correspondence immediately connected with these subjects.

Resolved, That there shall be a Traveling Secretary, whose duty it shall be to visit, as often as practicable, and as the interests of the Society shall require, the States and Territories of the United States, to promote by his personal agency the establishment and activity of State and Territorial societies auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, and to superintend the collection of emigrants and their transportation to their respective places of embarkation.

Resolved, That there shall be a Register, whose duty it shall be to keep the records of the proceedings of the Board of Directors; to keep, under the direction of the Financial Secretary, the accounts and books of business of the Society; and to prepare and issue, under the direction of the Corresponding Secretary, the publications of the Society.

With respect to the compensation of these officers, the committee believe that both they and the other members of the Board will be better able to arrive at a satisfactory opinion after an interchange of views at the annual session. They therefore ask leave to defer their conclusion until that time.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

W. PARKER FOULKE,
JAMES HALL,
J. G. GOBLE.

Rev. Mr. Tracy, of the said Committee, presented the following minority report:

The undersigned, a member of the committee appointed to report the number of secretaryships which it will be expedient to establish under the recent amendment of the constitution, to define the duties and suggest the compensation of each, asks leave to report:

That in his judgment, it is not expedient to establish, at present, any secretaryships which the business of the Society does not require to be filled. We are now in a state of growth, the rapidity of which cannot be foreseen. Various causes, not yet known or suspected, may accelerate or retard our growth; so that we cannot tell how large our business will be, and how many secretaries will be needed to perform it, even two or three years hence:

The nature of much of our business, too, is liable to unforeseen changes. The action of State legislatures may be such as greatly to increase the amount of correspondence with State Governments, or such as to terminate that which we now have; and other analogous changes may be forced upon us.

This liability to change, we well know, is more or less incident to all human labors; so that, in every enterprise, changes in the number and duties of the agents may be needed. It is greater in our enterprise than in most others, and peculiarly great at the present time. For this reason, we cannot safely, just now, arrange a system of officers and agencies to be permanently adhered to. We can only determine what officers we now need, and shall probably need during the year, or very few years, to come. We might, indeed, arrange a system of officers and agencies, such as the Society may need in some advanced stage of its operations, or such as we expect, and then fill only such of the offices as our present wants require to be filled; but very probably, changes in our affairs would compel us to change our plan, before the time should come for its complete execution.

What, then, are our wants for the year to come? What were the circumstances which induced us to amend our constitution and appoint this committee?

For some years previous to 1844, the Executive Officers, besides the Executive Committee, had been a secretary and a treasurer. At the very close of the meeting of that year, the secretary unexpectedly resigned, and absolute necessity compelled the Directors to impose that office on the gentleman who had already been chosen treasurer. It was seen, at least by some, that the labors of both offices would be too much for one man; and none, probably, expected that the arrangement would be permanent. Yet the duties of both offices have been so performed, that the Society has lived, grown and prospered, and the arrangement has continued from year to year. Yet, in order for this, it has been found necessary, in the treasury department, to employ an accomplished accountant as book-keeper, and in the secretary's department, a recording secretary, who has rendered important assistance in conducting the correspondence. Yet, with all this help, our secretary and treasurer is overburdened with duties. More is imposed upon him than it is physically possible for him to perform, to his own entire

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satisfaction, or ours. The African Repository is, from necessity, edited in haste. By expending more time upon it, it might and should be made much more interesting, instructive and influential. The letters of correspondents are, often, from absolute necessity, answered in the fewest possible words, giving, perhaps, a brief and positive decision of some important and intricate question, without a single reason for it. Such answers, given to intelligent men who wish to understand our affairs, are often unsatisfactory, and sometimes, to those who do not know the stern necessity which compels the secretary so to write, appear disrespectful. We need an arrangement which will obviate this difficulty. That is, we need an additional secretary.

Perhaps the object might be accomplished, by relieving the treasurer from the additional office, so hastily thrown upon him in 1844, appointing some other person as corresponding secretary, and retaining the recording secretary and book-keeper. But in that case, the treasurer would be obliged to conduct a great part of the correspondence; to be, in fact, not merely treasurer, but secretary of the treasury; and if he must do the duties of that office, it seems best that he should bear its title.

It has not been shown that we need more than one additional secretary, or that we shall need a larger accession to our force than that, during any period for which it would be judicious now to make provision.

It is recommended, therefore, that we appoint two corresponding secretaries, and a recording secretary.

The committee are instructed "also to define the duties of each" secretary.

The duties of the recording secretary are easily defined. They consist in the making and preserving of records, including the preservation of letters received, and of copies of letters sent. Besides the doings of the Society and the Board of Directors, at their annual and special meetings, he should record all the doings of the Executive Committee; giving, in the record of every meeting, the authority by which it was called, the time and place of meeting, the names of the members present, and the name of the presiding officer. He is to produce any matter in his archives, when demanded, for the inspection of the President, either of the corresponding secretaries, the treasurer, the Executive Committee, the Board of Directors, or

any committee or member of either; and to furnish certified copies, when required by other officers of the Society, who need them in the performance of their own duties. For the accurate performance of these duties, he is responsible to the Board of Directors. Assisting the other secretaries and the treasurer in their labors, is no part of his official duty. Yet, if his official duties should not occupy his whole time, he may properly be required to render them, or any of them, such assistance as they may need and he can afford; his compensation being fixed accordingly.

Defining the duties of the corresponding secretaries, so as to divide all those duties between them, assigning to each his part, exclusive of the other, is a more difficult task. All those labors have reference, and the most important of them very direct reference, to the operations of the treasury. They relate, almost wholly, to contracting debts, finding the means of payment, and paying them. Correspondence with State Governments must relate to emigration from the several States, and to appropriations for the expense. Correspondence with masters will relate to servants whom they wish to colonize, and to the expenses of colonizing them. Correspondence with donors, whether societies or individuals, will relate to the funds, with which the expenses of emigration are to be paid. Correspondence with Liberia will relate to the reception and care of emigrants, and the payment of the expenses incurred on their account; including under this head, the providing of receptacles, and all other things done for their welfare. It does not appear that this correspondence is, in its nature, capable of being so divided between two secretaries, that each may safely carry on his part of it, independently of the other. It must be one single harmonious system of correspondence, or we cannot have one harmonious system of receipts and payments growing out of it.

Doubtless, if two secretaries are employed, their mental characteristics will be somewhat different, and there will be letters which one of them may write better than the other. For this cause, the labors of correspondence, so far as they are capable of being divided, will naturally divide themselves, various parts of it falling naturally into the hands best adapted to manage them; while other parts, to the performance of which both are equally well adapted, would be left, as they ought to be, undivided, to be performed by either as convenience might demand from day to

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day. And this division, thus naturally made from day to day, with a full knowledge of the business to be divided, will be more likely to work well, than any theoretic division that we can make, before we know exactly what there will be to divide.

If we should leap over all these difficulties, and divide the labor equally between the two according to some theoretic classification, we should involve them in some other practical inconveniences. We could not expect that either division would be perfectly equable in its quantity throughout the year. Sometimes one secretary would be overwhelmed with business, while the other would have little to do, and at another time, the first would be idle and the second overwhelmed. Besides this, if either should be absent from his office a single day, either on business or from sickness, a letter might arrive, belonging to his department, and needing an immediate answer; and however the interests of the Society might suffer, it must remain unanswered till his return.

We cannot, therefore, safely, "define the duties of each" secretary, by dividing the labors between them, and assigning a certain part to each, to the exclusion of the other.

But, as each letter must be written by one or the other of them, there must, in some way, be a division of the labor. How shall it be effected?

In part, this question has been answered already. They will naturally divide it themselves, as circumstances shall suggest from day to day. If any other division is to be made, it is at least doubtful whether this Board of Directors is the proper body to make it.

The whole correspondence ought to be carried on under the direction of the Executive Committee. If it were practicable, they ought to read or hear every letter, before it leaves the office. But as this cannot be, they must hear such of the most important of them as they can, and give such instructions as they judge necessary concerning the others. They should, however, know, sooner or later, and in season to prevent any injury, the contents of every letter received, and of every letter sent.

The committee is always on the ground, and always knows what business there is for the secretaries to transact; and is therefore always competent to assign to each his proper share of the labor.

If a new branch of correspondence is to

be opened, it should be done under the direction of the committee; and if it should be assigned to one secretary rather than the other, the committee can assign it. If the personal presence of a secretary is needed at some distant point, the committee should order the journey, and designate the secretary to make it. In short, it belongs to the committee to prescribe all their labors, and so far as may be necessary or useful, to make the division.

In this way, the division will be made by men well acquainted with the peculiar qualifications of each secretary, and with the business to be divided between them; any branch of the correspondence, for which either is found to be peculiarly qualified, may be committed to him, as exclusively, and for so long a time, as the interests of the Society permit; and a change of distribution can be made at any time, when the exigencies of business require it.

This control of the Executive Committee over the secretaries is indispensable to that unity of system, which is indispensable to the successful prosecution of business. If we exempt the secretaries from their control, and give each a department to manage according to his own discretion, we shall have three lines of policy—that of the committee, and that of each secretary; and these three policies will sometimes come in conflict with each other.

It has been supposed, that a distinct department might be formed for an additional secretary, by giving him the editing of the African Repository, and opening new branches of correspondence, leaving the business of the present secretaryships unchanged.

To this, there are several objections. The first, and a fatal one, is, that it would not meet our main difficulty. The incumbent of the present secretaryship would still be overwhelmed with more business than he could do as it ought to be done. There would still be the same ground of complaint against the short, hurried and unsatisfactory letters; and, it being known that there are two secretaries in the office, with time enough to write deliberately, the appearance of disrespect would be stronger than before. Another objection is, that besides business too directly related to the treasury to be safely transferred to a new department, there is really very little that ought to be done. The new secretary would find it hard work to invent even innocent employment enough to keep himself out of idleness.

Report of Committee on Special Agency to Europe.

The undersigned is confirmed in these views, by the practice of all analogous societies, so far as he has been able to inquire. The American and Presbyterian Boards of Foreign Missions, and the American Home Missionary Society, have three secretaries each, whose duties are arranged in the way herein recommended. Two publishing societies, American Bible and Tract Societies, have a different arrangement; but it is not known to produce any superior advantages.

The conclusion, therefore, is, that the distribution of duties between the corresponding secretaries must be left to the Executive Committee.

This committee was also ordered "to suggest such compensation as they may think proper to affix to each" secretaryship.

No reason appears for changing the salaries now given to the corresponding and recording secretaries; and if an additional corresponding secretary be appointed, it would be impolitic to elevate him above or depress him below the level of the other, by giving him a different salary. It is suggested, therefore, that the salaries affixed to those offices remain as they are.

In view of these facts and reasonings—assuming that there will be a treasurer, who will merely receive, keep and disburse the funds and keep the accounts of the Society—the following resolutions are respectfully submitted:

1. *Resolved*, that this Board will appoint, annually, till otherwise ordered, two corresponding secretaries and a recording secretary.

2. *Resolved*, that the corresponding secretaries shall be, in all respects, of equal rank; but when both are named together, he who has been longest in the office shall be named first, unless something in the connexion obviously require otherwise.

3. *Resolved*, that the duties of the corresponding secretaries shall be, under the direction of the Executive Committee, to conduct the correspondence of the Society, written and oral, making journeys for that purpose when necessary; to make and sign contracts, and draw on the treasurer for payments; to prepare business for the action of the Executive Committee, and lay it before them at their meetings; to edit the African Repository; and to prepare the annual report, and such other documents as may be ordered by this Board or the Executive Committee, for the action of the Directors at annual or special meetings.

They shall place in the hands of the recording secretary, all official letters and documents received by them, and furnish, or allow him to take copies of all official letters and documents sent out by them, for preservation. All these duties shall be common to both of them, each performing such part as mutual convenience shall dictate, or as the Executive Committee shall prescribe.

4. The salary of each corresponding secretary shall be two thousand dollars a year, till otherwise ordered.

5. It shall be the duty of the recording secretary to record the doings of the Society, the Board of Directors, and the Executive Committee; to preserve the records and documents of the Society, including all official letters received, and copies of all official letters sent; and to produce any matter in his archives, or to furnish certified copies of the same, when required by any officer of the Society in the performance of his duty. He shall also be the Librarian of the Society, and shall keep, in a suitable condition for convenient reference, all publications of the Society, and such other books, pamphlets, papers and periodicals, as shall be procured for the Society's use.

6. The salary of the recording secretary shall be twelve hundred dollars a year, till otherwise ordered.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH TRACY.

Rev. Mr. Miller, chairman of the Committee appointed at the last annual meeting of the Board, to raise, in conjunction with the Executive Committee, the funds needed for the support of a special agency to Europe, presented the following report:

The Committee appointed to raise, in conjunction with the Executive Committee, the funds needed for the support of a special agency to represent the interests of this Society in Europe, reported, begging to be discharged as a committee from further attention to the duty, in view of unexpected obstacles standing in the way of their success; expressing, however, a strong conviction of the importance of the agency, and warmly recommending it to the future consideration of the Board.

Adjourned to 9 o'clock A. M., tomorrow.

Meeting of the Board—Committees—Resolutions.

WEDNESDAY, January 17.

The Board met according to adjournment:

After prayer by the Rev. Dr. McLeod, the minutes of the session yesterday were read and approved.

The Reports of Agents of the Society were presented.

The President announced the Standing Committees, as follows:

Committee on Foreign Relations.—Messrs. Maclean, Hall, Haight, Lee, and Miller.

Committee on Finance.—Messrs. Phelps, Gregory, Haines, Hodge, and Orcutt.

Committee on Auxiliary Societies.—Messrs. Foulke, Allen, McLeod, Blodgett, and Slaughter.

Committee on Agencies.—Messrs. Disosway, Coppinger, Davis, Bloomfield, and Mitchell.

Committee on Accounts.—Messrs. Jones, Adams, Hosmer, Coulling, and Orcutt.

Committee on Emigration.—Messrs. Tracy, Bransford, Stanton, Sparrow, and Pettit.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the number of delegates from the New York State Colonization Society be fifteen; the amount expended by the said Society, on account of emigrants sent to Liberia during the past year, the account for which was not forwarded before the close of the year in consequence of the absence of the Rev. J. B. Pinney, Secretary of said Society, to be received as basis of representation, in addition to the amount reported by the Recording Secretary.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the Illinois Colonization Society be entitled to one delegate by the present payment of the balance necessary to complete the sum required to entitle said Society to a delegate.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Tracy, it was

Resolved, That the disposal of the proceeds of the legacy of Augustus Graham for the support of schools in Liberia, be referred to a special committee.

Messrs. Tracy, Coppinger, and Stanton, were appointed said committee.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Haight, it was

Resolved, That so much of the Annual Report of the Society as relates to special appeals from the Corresponding Secretary for funds to meet particular cases, be referred to a special committee of three, with instructions to consider and report upon the best mode of preventing the conflict between such appeals and the regular work of the agents of the State societies.

Messrs. Haight, Pettit, and Lee, were appointed said committee.

On motion of Mr. Jones, it was

Resolved, That a committee of two be appointed to prepare a minute on the death of Elliott Cresson, Esq., late Vice President and Life Director of this Society.

Messrs. Jones and Reese were appointed said committee.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Tracy, it was

Resolved, That so much of the Annual Report and the Statement of the Executive Committee as relates to foreign relations, to finance, to auxiliary societies, to agencies, to accounts, and to emigration, be referred to the standing committees on those subjects respectively.

The Report of the Committee on the subject of the recognition of the Republic of Liberia by the United States Government, was taken up; and, after a free and full expression of opinion by several members of the Board, on motion of Rev. Mr. Miller, it was

Resolved, That the subject of the recognition of Liberia be referred to the President of the Society and the Executive Committee, with power to act in their discretion, in regard thereto, in the interval between this and the next annual meeting of the Board of Directors.

The Report of the Committee on the subject of the exploration of Africa eastward of Liberia, was taken up; and, on motion of Rev. Dr. Haight, it was

Resolved, That the committee on the exploration of Africa be continued until the next annual meeting of the Board.

The Report of the Committee on the basis of representation of State Societies,

Life Directors—The late A. G. Phelps, Esq.—Death of Elliott Cresson, Esq.

was taken up; also the minority report of the Rev. Mr. Tracy; and, after considerable discussion, on motion of Dr. Reese, it was

Resolved, That the whole subject be laid upon the table, and printed with the minutes of the Board; and meanwhile, that both reports be referred to the consideration of the Executive Committee and the State Societies.

The Report of the Committee on steam communication between the United States and Liberia, was taken up; and, for the present, was laid on the table, in consequence of the absence of Dr. Hall.

The Report of the Committee on secretariats of the Society, was taken up; also the minority report of the Rev. Mr. Tracy; both of which, on motion of Mr. Jones, were laid on the table for the present.

On motion, the Board took a recess, for the meeting of the Society.

After the meeting of the Society, the Board was called to order; when, on motion, the Board adjourned to 7½ o'clock this P. M.

EVENING SESSION, January 17.

The Board met according to adjournment.

The minutes of the last session were read and approved.

The Secretary of the Society announced that, during the past year, the Hon. William Appleton of Massachusetts, the Rev. R. R. Gurley, and his Excellency, Franklin Pierce, President of the United States, were constituted Life Directors of this Society, by the payment into the treasury of \$1,000 each.

Mr. Disosway, chairman of the Committee, appointed at the last annual meeting of the Board, to whom was referred the subject of procuring a copy of the portrait of the late Anson G. Phelps, Esq., presented the following report, which was adopted:

The Committee appointed at the last annual meeting of this Board, to procure a portrait of the late Anson G. Phelps, a Vice President of the American Colonization Society, report, that they have discharged this duty. An excellent portrait of Mr. Phelps has been painted by Waldo and Jewett, very eminent artists in the City of New York, and a copy from an admirable original in the possession of his son, Anson G. Phelps, Esq., the President of the New York State Colonization Society.

Respectfully submitted.

GABRIEL P. DISOSWAY,

JOHN MACLEAN,

Committee.

Mr. Jones, chairman of the Committee appointed to prepare a minute on the death of the late Elliott Cresson, Esq., presented the following report, which, on motion, was adopted; after some appropriate remarks by the Rev. R. R. Gurley in reference to the devotion of Mr. Cresson, for many years, to the colonization cause:

Whereas, since the last meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, it has pleased Almighty God to remove from his earthly labors one of the Vice Presidents and a Life Director of this Society—therefore,

Resolved, That this Board feel called upon to express a deep sense of the loss they have sustained in the removal of one who, for over a quarter of a century, was the zealous and untiring advocate of African Colonization, and whose gratuitous labors, alike in this country and Great Britain, evinced the sincerity of his professions, and entitle him to the gratitude of every lover of humanity.

Resolved, That while we mourn over our loss we cannot but sympathise with the family and relatives of our deceased friend.

Resolved, That a request be preferred to the family of the late Mr. Cresson for a copy of his portrait to be made and deposited in the rooms of this Society.

Resolved, That a certified copy of the above be sent by the Recording Secretary to the family of our late distinguished friend.

Messrs. Jones, Reese, and Coppinger, were appointed a committee to carry out the object embraced in the third resolution.

Resolutions—U. S. and Liberia Steamship Co.—Meeting of the Board.

On motion, the Report of the Committee on steam communication between the United States and Liberia was taken up, and read; also the minority report of Dr. Hall; when the following resolutions were presented by Mr. Phelps, viz:

Resolved, That in the judgment of this Board, the services of the Rev. R. R. Gurley in obtaining subscriptions to the stock of the United States and Liberia Steamship Company, are important and valuable to the general cause of colonization, and meet with the warm approval of this Board.

Resolved, That in the judgment of this Board, the United States and Liberia Steamship Company, as at present organized in the city of New York, may, with the aid of the friends of the cause in the United States, speedily be successful in accomplishing the object so ardently desired by all, viz: a steam communication with Liberia. At the same time, this Board disclaims any financial responsibility in connection with the above named Company.

To which, on motion of Mr. Gregory, the following was added:

Resolved, That until the arrangement for steam communication between this country and Liberia is perfected, it is important that a portion of the funds raised for that purpose be appropriated for the purchase of a suitable sailing vessel for the transportation of emigrants, under the control of the American Colonization Society.

Which resolutions, after full and general discussion, on motion, were adopted.

On leave being granted, the Rev. Dr. Maclean presented the following resolutions:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Board, it is important to the financial interests of the Society, and to the proper prosecution of its great object, that there shall be an additional secretary, whose duties shall be defined by this Board.

Resolved, That in view of the nature of the recommendations of the committees upon secretaryships, and upon the basis of representation, the reports of those committees shall be printed with the proceedings of this annual meeting in the customary annual printed report, and that a copy be sent to each auxiliary society.

Resolved, That the resolutions reported by said committees lie upon the table for consideration, until the next annual meeting of this Board.

Which resolutions, on motion, were made the first business of the day for the next session of the Board.

Adjourned to 9 o'clock, A. M. to-morrow.

—
THURSDAY, January 18.

The Board met according to adjournment.

After prayer by the Rev. Dr. Lee, the minutes of the last session were read, corrected, and approved.

The reports of agents of the Society were, on motion, referred to the standing committee on agencies.

The resolutions presented by Rev. Dr. Maclean, at the last session of the Board, respecting the appointment of an additional secretary of the Society, being the first business of the day, were taken up; and, after discussion, they were, on motion, separately read and adopted.

Mr. Disosway presented the following resolution, which, on motion, was referred to the committee on finance:

Resolved, That the Board of Directors urge upon the auxiliary societies and the agents of this Society the necessity of increased efforts in procuring State appropriations to aid the purposes of the American Colonization Society.

Mr. Disosway presented the following resolution, which, on motion, was referred to the committee on auxiliary societies:

Resolved, That the committee on auxiliary societies be requested to originate some plan by which a greater and more efficient number of auxiliary societies can be established throughout the country.

Mr. Disosway presented the following resolution, which, on motion, was referred to the committee on finance:

Resolved, That the committee on finance be requested to report how the present in-

Resolutions—African Squadron, &c.

debtedness has arisen, and what means are proposed to liquidate the same, and to report at this meeting.

Mr. Whitteley, chairman of the Executive Committee, presented the following resolution, which was adopted :

Resolved, That the thanks of this Board be presented to his Excellency Governor Dutton, the Rev. Dr. Haight, and Commander Foote, for the addresses delivered by them at the late Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society, and that the Secretary of the Society be instructed to transmit to them copies of this resolution, and to request a copy of their addresses for publication.

A communication was presented from the Rev. J. Morris Pease, with reference to improvements in Liberia, &c., which, on motion, was referred to the committee on emigration.

On leave being granted, the following preamble and resolution presented by Capt. Foote were taken up, and, on motion, were adopted :

Whereas, The African Squadron has protected the legal commerce of the United States on the coast of that continent—has had an essential agency towards removing the guilt of the slave trade from the world, and has afforded countenance to the Republic of Liberia ; therefore

Resolved, That no article of the Webster-Ashburton treaty ought to be abrogated, nor the African squadron withdrawn, or reduced, unless it be in the number of guns specified in the treaty. But on the contrary, that said squadron ought to be rendered more efficient, by the employment of several small steamers, as being better adapted for the suppression of the slave traffic and the protection of our legal commerce, than the mere sailing vessels now composing the squadron :

Capt. Foote read a very interesting statement respecting the slave trade, and the United States squadron, on the coast of Africa.

Adjourned to 7½ o'clock, this P. M.

EVENING SESSION, January 18.

The Board met according to adjournment.

The minutes of the last session were read and approved.

Rev. Dr. Haight stated that the Hon. Hamilton Fish, one of the delegates from the New York State Colonization Society, has been prevented from attending the sessions of this Board, in consequence of indisposition.

Rev. Dr. Maclean presented the following resolution, which was adopted :

Resolved, That the Board have listened with great pleasure to the able and interesting memoir read to them by Commander Foote, in regard to the squadron of the United States on the coast of Africa ; and unite with him in the hope that no action will take place on the part of our Government calculated to impair, in any degree, its efficiency as a most important agent in the suppression of the slave trade.

Rev. Mr. Gurley presented the following preamble and resolution, which were adopted :

Whereas, this Board have learned that the Hon. C. F. Mercer, one of the earliest, most constant, and able friends, and a Vice President of this Society, is now visiting, at his own expense, and from the noblest impulses of philanthropy, many of the Governments of Europe, with the view of uniting their course's and sentiments in such policy as shall result in the prohibition of the African slave trade, by the law of nations ;

Resolved, That the Board express their high sense of the past and present eminent services of the Hon. C. F. Mercer in the cause of this Society, his country, and humanity, and their earnest hope that the efforts in which he is now engaged may be crowned with success.

Rev. W. McLain presented the following resolution, which was adopted :

Resolved, That the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society hereby express their sense of obligation to the Rev. Rector, Wardens, and Vestry of Trinity Church, for the kindness shown this body, by opening their spacious edifice to the Society for its anniversary, and the basement of their building for the meetings of this Board and its committees.

Resolved, That a copy of the above resolution be transmitted to the Rev. Rector

Resolutions—Improvements in Liberia, &c.

of the Church by the Secretary of the Society.

On motion of Mr. Foulke, it was

Resolved, That the Secretary furnish to the committee on auxiliaries a list of the State and Territorial Societies, acting as auxiliaries to the American Colonization Society; and also, as far as known to him, of the State and Territorial Societies not so acting.

On motion of Mr. Foulke, it was

Resolved, That there shall be furnished, as soon as practicable, after the adjournment of this Board, to the chairman of each of its committees a copy of each resolution referred to such committees respectively.

The Committee on Accounts reported that they had examined the treasurer's account and found the same correct. (See the exhibit, page 47.)

The following resolution, presented by Rev. Dr. Maclean, was taken up, and, on motion, was adopted:

Resolved, That to prevent all misapprehension in regard to the powers of the Executive Committee, it is hereby declared that the Executive Committee, unless restricted by special instructions from the Board of Directors, have all the powers of the Board, during the recess, including the entire direction of the agents of the Society, however appointed.

The following preamble and resolution, presented by Rev. Mr. Tracy, were taken up, and, on motion, were adopted:

Whereas, Liberian commerce and emigration would be much facilitated by a wharf on some point of that coast, at which passengers and goods may be landed, and goods put on board without the use of lighters; and whereas, for want of such a wharf, lives are annually lost in attempts to land or embark through the surf; and whereas, without such a wharf, steam communication with Liberia may prove too expensive to be permanently maintained; and whereas, there is no such wharf on that coast, nor any place known where such a wharf can be constructed; therefore

Resolved, That the committee on exploration in Africa be instructed to procure, if practicable, from the officers of the squadron of the United States on the coast of

Africa, or some of them, an examination of the most promising points on the coast of Liberia, with reference to the practicability, mode, and expense, of constructing such a wharf; with such other information as may be in their power, relating to the artificial improvement of harbors in Liberia.

The following preamble and resolutions, presented by Rev. Mr. Slaughter, were taken up, and, on motion, were adopted:

Whereas, the exclusive design of the American Colonization Society, as declared in its fundamental law, is to remove, with their own consent, the free colored people of the United States to Africa; and whereas, in carrying out this principle, this Board have ordered that all suggestions and discussions of schemes of emancipation shall be excluded from the African Repository, and other official documents of the Society; and whereas, it is necessary to the consummation of this policy, that the same principle should be applied to the conduct of the public meetings of this Society; therefore

Resolved, That the Executive Committee should have strict regard to this principle in all their arrangements for the annual meetings.

Resolved, That no persons other than those chosen by the Executive Committee shall be permitted to make speeches at such public meetings, without a vote of the Society.

The report of the committee on the subject of raising funds for the support of a special agency to Europe, was taken up, and, on motion, was adopted.

The Committee to whom was referred that portion of the Annual Report which relates to special appeals, presented the following report, which was adopted:

The Committee to whom was referred that portion of the annual report which relates to special appeals from the Corresponding Secretary for funds to meet particular cases, with instructions to consider and report upon the best mode of preventing the conflict between such appeals and the regular work of the agents of the State societies, beg leave to report—

That they have considered the subject committed to them, and are of the opinion that it is necessary to the best interests of the work which we have in hand, and to the prudence, wisdom, and economy of

Report of Committees—Graham legacy—Foreign Relations.

time, effort and money, by which all our operations ought to be characterized, that as far as practicable, all possibility of interference between the plans and acts of the central Board at Washington and those of any of the State societies should be prevented. Such interference—unintentional your committee are persuaded—has occurred during the past year in more than one instance, and been productive of harm and loss, notwithstanding the resolution of the Board of Directors passed at the annual meeting in 1851.

With the view of preventing the occurrence of similar evils, your committee recommend the adoption of the following resolution :

Resolved, That hereafter all appeals from the Corresponding Secretary, the General Agent, or the Executive Committee, for funds for any purpose connected with the objects of the American Colonization Society in States wherein auxiliary societies exist, shall be made only through said societies and under their direction.

BENJ. J. HAIGHT,
WM. V. PETTIT,
LEROY M. LEE,
Committee.

The Committee to whom was referred the subject of the Graham legacy, presented the following report, which was adopted :

The Committee to whom was referred the question of the disposal of the proceeds of the Graham legacy, ask leave to report : That, as the legacy is not yet paid in full, the order adopted on this subject last year, be continued in force for another year.

JOSEPH TRACY, *Chairman*,
WILLIAM COPPINGER,
R. L. STANTON.

The following preamble and resolution, presented by Gov. Dutton, were taken up, and, on motion, were adopted :

Whereas, testimony has been given in courts of justice, in recent criminal trials, which, if worthy of credit, would establish the fact, that vessels engaged in the slave trade have been, within a few years, fitted out, in considerable numbers, for the purpose, in the ports of New York, Boston and other places ; and such vessels are owned by persons residing in said cities :

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to examine this subject, and as-

certain, if possible, whether such statements are true, and report the facts which they shall find established, to the next annual meeting.

Messrs. Dutton, Foote, Reese, Tracy, and Gregory, were appointed said committee.

The Committee on Foreign Relations, presented the following report, which, on motion, was adopted :

The Committee on Foreign Relations, to whom was referred so much of the Annual Report as relates to Liberia, and of the report on the acknowledgment of the independence of that country, beg leave to recommend to the Board the adoption of the following resolutions :

1. *Resolved*, That this Board have learned with the highest satisfaction, that, in the kind providence of God, the Republic of Liberia continues to meet the most sanguine expectations of its friends, and that its present prosperous condition, and the efficient administration of its affairs, command the respect of the civilized world.

2. *Resolved*, That this Board will not cease to exert their influence to secure, at the earliest day possible, a recognition of the Independence of Liberia ; and that it is the belief of the Board that the omission on the part of our Government to recognize the independence of that country, is not owing to any want of friendly feeling toward that Government by the Government and people of the United States, but owing entirely to other causes, which, in the judgment of some of the most devoted friends of Liberia, render any action upon that subject inexpedient for the present.

The committee have also taken into consideration the subject of founding a settlement in the interior of Liberia, which they conceive it important for this Society to press at present only so far as to ascertain the important fact of the existence or non-existence of the malaria causing the disease called the African coast fever, at a certain distance from the coast, and at a certain elevation above the ocean. For this purpose, the committee would recommend that measures be taken, as soon as practicable, by the executive officers of the Society, to place a certain number of unacclimated male emigrants at the most convenient and suitable point interior to the settlement of Bassa, directly from the vessel, at a proper elevation, and at least one day's most speedy travel from the settle-

Resolutions—Report of Committee on Auxiliary Societies.

ment. The committee believe this course will prove entirely practicable and salutary, and can be made at little expense in comparison with its importance, and at no sacrifice of life; and that the expediency of prosecuting or urging any settlement in the interior by the American Colonization Society, will thus be established.

On motion of Mr. Gregory, it was

Resolved, That the Report of Commander Foote on the subject of the African Squadron, under the Ashburton treaty, be published in the African Repository, colonization journals, and other papers.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Maclean, it was

Resolved, That the Officers and Agents appointed by the Board at their meeting last year, or by the Executive Committee, under instructions from the Board, be re-appointed for another year.

On motion of Mr. Disoway, it was

Resolved, That the Committee on Emigration report to the Board if there exist any causes for the complaints which have reached this country from emigrants sent out by this Society, as to their proper supplies, comfort, and treatment, on their passage, or after their arrival there, whilst under the charge of our agents in Africa.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Maclean, it was

Resolved, That the following be added to the By-laws:

Whenever appeals shall be taken upon a matter of account to the Board of Directors, the grounds and proof in the matter shall be set forth in writing, as well on behalf of the appellant as on behalf of the Executive Committee, and, on presentation, shall be referred, without debate, to the Standing Committee on Accounts, whose decision shall be final.

The Committee on Finance presented their report, and, on motion, the resolutions attached thereto were adopted, as follows:

Resolved, That in view of the present embarrassed state of the funds, the State Societies be requested to remit to the Parent Society, as early as convenient, such assistance as may be in their power to render.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be authorized, at their discretion, to dispose of such stocks, bonds, and lands, as may have come into their posses-

sion, for the general purposes of this Society, and apply the same to the liquidation of the debts of the Society.

Resolved, That in view of the pecuniary embarrassments of the country, and the depressed state of the funds of the Society, it be recommended to the Executive Committee to conduct their affairs both in reference to outlays for emigrants and in Liberia, as well as in the employment of agents, with due regard to the liquidation of the debts of the Society.

ANSON G. PHELPS,
Chairman.

The Committee on Auxiliary Societies presented the following report, which, on motion, was adopted:

The Committee on Auxiliary Societies respectfully report:

That the subject referred to them is one of great importance, and that it requires longer and more careful inquiries and consideration than they are able to give during the present session of the Board, and they therefore ask leave to make their particular report at the next annual session.

W. PARKER FOULKE,
H. M. BLODGETT,
WILLIAM H. ALLEN,
JOHN N. MCLEOD.

The Committee on Agencies, to whom was referred the Reports of Agents of the Society, presented separate reports on the several agencies, which, on motion, were adopted.

Adjourned to 9 o'clock a. m. to-morrow.

FRIDAY, January 19.

The board met according to adjournment.

After prayer by the Rev. Dr. Stanton, the minutes of the last session were read and approved.

The President read the following letter from the Hon. Justice Wayne:

WASHINGTON, January 16, 1855.

MY DEAR SIR: I have been in my chamber for more than a week with a sharp attack of erysipelas in the head and face, and am not enough relieved to venture out. Nothing less than such a cause should prevent me from attending the anniversary of the American Colonization Society this evening, and with every wish

Resolutions—Report of Committee on Emigration.

for its prosperity, and detergination on my part to do all that I can to aid it, I am, very sincerely, your friend and obedient servant,

JAMES M. WAYNE.

Hon. Elisha Whittlesey,

Chair. Ex. Com. A. C. S.

The following resolution, presented by Rev. Dr. Maclean, was taken up, and, on motion, was adopted :

Resolved, That in future the compensation of all State or other local agents must be made from funds collected by themselves, unless by special agreement with the Executive Committee, or by instructions from the Board.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the Annual Report of the Society be referred to the Executive Committee for publication.

On motion of Mr. Disosway, it was

Resolved, That the Committee on Agencies be requested to prepare some plan of general application for the efficient establishment and continuance of agencies throughout the country, and to report at the next annual meeting of the Board.

The report of the Committee on Agencies respecting the agency of Rev. James Mitchell was taken up; during the consideration of which, on motion, it was

Resolved, That the agents of the Society are expected, while continuing to act as agents, to conform to the policy of the Society in all the relations of colonization, as expressed by the Board at its annual meetings, or in its recess, by the Executive Committee.

On motion of Mr. Pettit, it was

Resolved, That the resignation of Rev. Mr. Mitchell, as agent for the Northwest, be accepted, and that the Executive Committee be recommended to re-appoint Mr. Mitchell to the office he formerly held, provided such an understanding can be arrived at with him as will secure a conformity by the agent with the general policy of this Society; and further, that such a salary shall be paid to the said agent as may be agreed upon with him.

The Committee on Emigration presented the following report, which, on motion, was adopted :

The Committee on Emigration, to whom was referred so much of the annual report and statement of the Executive Committee as relates to that subject, and a paper on the same subject from the Rev. J. M. Pease, ask leave to report as follows :

The subject deserves a much more thorough examination and more extended report than is possible in the time allowed them. It would be well to examine minutely the history of all the expeditions that have been sent out for several years past; the characters and circumstances of the emigrants; the provision made for them and the whole treatment they have received on the voyage and after their arrival; and the results in respect to their life, health, happiness and usefulness in Liberia. It would be well, also, to examine all the complaints made by emigrants, and by others on their behalf, and to ascertain how much foundation there may be for any of them in fact, and what remedies may be applied. Instead of this a few brief remarks must suffice.

1. The matter of most immediate interest, is that of complaints concerning the treatment of emigrants.

Those complaints which have made the widest and deepest impression are contained in the published letters of a recent emigrant, whose good intentions the committee do not question. The letters themselves show, however, to any one acquainted with Liberian politics, that the complaints are a part of the arguments with which one political party is hoping to prevail against another at the next presidential election. The most important of the alleged facts are not personally known to the writer, nor had he ever had the necessary means of testing the accuracy of the statements which he had heard; and those statements are not sustained by any authentic information received at the office of this Society.

Some emigrants have complained of over crowding and discomfort on their voyage; while other emigrants by the same ships made no such complaint, and even expressed their satisfaction with the voyage.

Yet it is undoubtedly true, that, owing to the impossibility of finding such a ship as was desired at the time when it was wanted, and the difficulty of refusing emigrants who had presented themselves without proper previous notice and were anxious to go, the number sent in some vessels has been undesirably large. But how far this may have affected the health of the

Resolutions—Adjournment.

emigrants, is not clearly proved, and opinions differ.

With regard to accommodations in Liberia, it is well known that the receptacles built for a moderate number of emigrants, several years since, and now not so good as new, have been insufficient for the number of emigrants lately sent, and the agent has been obliged to supply the deficiency as he could, by hiring buildings which were private property; and it has sometimes been difficult to procure such as he desired. With respect to the amount of injury or discomfort from this source, accounts differ, and we have not now the means of deciding.

Finally, it is certain that the continued life, health, and happiness of emigrants depends more on their own character and conduct than on all other causes put together. There has been very little sickness and but few deaths among those who, under the advice of the physician, have taken proper care of themselves.

On board the *Sophia Walker* there was an unusual amount of sickness and death, owing to the bad quality of water, which became bad on the voyage. The cause of this change is not yet ascertained. It was certainly not owing, as some have alleged, to the bad preparation of casks, as the same change occurred in casks which had been proved good by the experience of several years.

In conclusion, the committee believe that the Executive Officers of the Society have faithfully endeavored to conduct emigration with all due regard, not only to economy, but also to the welfare of emigrants; and that experience has enabled them to make many important improvements, and will enable them to make others.

Respectfully submitted, by order of the committee,

JOSEPH TRACY,
Chairman.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Haight, it was

Resolved, That the report of the Committee on Emigration be published in the *African Repository*, and other colonization papers.

Rev. Mr. Gurley stated that he desired to present three resolutions, which he thought of some importance, but as we were near the close of the session, he would merely ask that they be received and laid upon the table, unless some gentleman should deem it important to move

their adoption. After some exchange of opinion, the resolutions were received, as follows:

Resolved, That the union of the Northern and Southern sections of the United States, in efforts for the establishment of christian communities of voluntary free colored emigrants in Africa, tends to strengthen and perpetuate the political ties which make us one nation, and to advance the highest interests of all classes of our population.

Resolved, That in the judgment of this meeting, such united endeavors by citizens of the Northern and Southern States most effectually tend to adjust and settle all sectional excitement and injurious agitation in regard to our colored population, and to rescue Africa from the ignorance, superstition, and bondage in which she has for ages been enthralled.

Resolved, That it is highly important that the friends, agents, and other representatives of this Society should seek, in their discourses and writings, to separate its one simple and grand purpose from all questions likely to create distrust or angry controversies between the North and the South, and to present the cause in such a light of unquestionable and enlarged benevolence as must commend it to the reason and just confidence and regard of both.

On motion of Mr. Gregory, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the thanks of this Board be presented to the President of the Society for the able and impartial manner in which he has discharged the duties of the chair on this occasion.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Board be also presented to the Secretaries of the Board, the Executive Committee, and other Officers, for their important services to the cause.

The minutes were then read and approved.

On motion, the Board adjourned to the third Tuesday in January, 1856, at 12 o'clock M.

The meeting was closed with prayer by Rev. R. R. Gurley.

JOHN H. B. LATROBE,
President A. C. S.

D. M. Reese, Secretary.

J. W. Lugenbeel, Asst. Secretary.

From 1st January, 1854, to 1st January, 1855.

To balances due the Society as per last report....	\$27,302 91	By balances due by the Society as per last report	\$15,869 80
Receipts from the following sources, to wit:		Payments for the following objects, to wit:	
Profit and Loss account.....	775 41	Profit and Loss account.....	1,114 44
Legacies.....	9,861 16	Purchase of Life annuities provided in wills, and tax on legacies.....	4,562 40
Contingent Expenses.....	24 71	Paper and printing Annual Report, and for Com. Lynch's Report.....	1,494 42
Donations.....	21,160 82	Salaries of the Secretary, Recording Secretary, and Clerk of the Am. Col. Soc., office rent, fuel, stationery, and postage.	5,643 31
Emigrants.....	31,840 27	Compensation of Agents, employed in collecting funds.....	10,648 53
African Repository.....	1,771 56	Charter of vessels, outfit and support of emigrants.....	40,671 81
Total receipts including the above balances...	92,736 84	Paper and printing the African Repository, and expense of collecting subscriptions.	2,676 24
Balances due by the Society.....	23,448 01	Erection of a Receptacle for Emigrants, and salaries of Physicians in Liberia...	3,434 75
		Total expenditures, including the above balances.....	85,515 70
		Balances due the Society.....	30,669 15
	\$116,184 85		\$116,184 85

COLONIZATION ROOMS, *Washington City, January 1st, 1855.*

The Committee on Accounts have examined the Treasurer's Account for the past year, and compared it with the proper vouchers, and they find the same correct.

NOAH FLETCHER, *Book-keeper.*

PAUL T. JONES,
JAS. D. COULLING,
JAMES ADAMS,
JOHN ORCUTT,
JAMES B. HOSMER, } *Committee.*

Address of Governor Dutton.

Address of Governor Dutton, of Connecticut,

AT THE 38TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE A. C. S., JANUARY 16, 1855.

MR. PRESIDENT: I know of no way in which I can better justify myself for occupying a small portion of the time of this audience, than by presenting some reasons why this Society deserves a greater degree of confidence, and is entitled to a warmer support, than it has ever done before.

The first reason which I shall suggest, is, the judicious and impartial course which it has pursued, in the recent excited state of the public mind on the subject of slavery. The agitation of that subject will, as a matter of course, always, to some extent, embarrass the operations of this Society—the public mind has, of late, as we all know, been more sensitive on this exciting topic than ever before. At the South, a strong jealousy has prevailed, lest an institution, which they consider exclusively their own, should be disturbed, their peace destroyed and their safety endangered, by the zeal of its enemies in other parts of the Union. At the North, a universal alarm has prevailed, lest slavery should invade territory hitherto free, and lest the power of the Government should be wielded by the friends of the peculiar institution. Under these circumstances your Society, Mr. President, has pursued the even tenor of its way, you do not meddle with the question, whether slavery shall be abolished, or whether it shall be perpetuated; whether it shall be restricted within narrower limits, or shall be allowed to pervade a wider sphere—you do not consider yourselves a tribunal before whom men are to be brought to be tried and punished for their offences—your work is one of philanthropy, not of censure. The agitation of those questions which convulse the Union and in the opinion of some threaten its dissolution, does not diminish the number or relieve the wretchedness of those whose degradation excites your pity—you do not even inquire, whether this agitation is justifiable or not—on this subject you leave men to think and act as they please. You see a numerous class, scattered through the length and breadth of our land, who are free without the privileges of freedom; whose numbers are continually increasing, and whose condition here is without hope of improvement. It is difficult to decide, whether their condition at the South or at the North is most to be deprecated. In slaveholding States they have fewer privileges, but they enjoy a climate more congenial to their physical nature, and they

are less isolated in their condition. In the non-slaveholding States, they feel the baneful influence of a prejudice, which, whether well founded or not, deprives them of many rights, and banishes them from the society of those among whom they dwell. They are also exposed to the destructive influence of an uncongenial climate, which reduces their numbers and threatens them with extinction. Your Society, sir, does not stop to enquire, whether they are, or are not, suffering injustice at the hands of their fellow-men. They are equally entitled to commiseration, and to relieve their miseries will be equally meritorious, whether they are victims of oppression, or are only suffering from the mysterious visitations of Providence. You are in no situation to punish their oppressors if they are suffering wrongfully, nor to elevate their condition, so long as they remain where they are. But you have discovered a way, by which all the ends of benevolence will be accomplished, without disturbing any section of the Union, and by means of which both the white and the colored race will receive immediate relief. The way is one which it required no genius to discover, but which needs only to be stated to be approved. It is the plain and obvious way of restoring the free colored race to the land of their nativity—there is unoccupied territories enough there to accommodate them all; a climate calculated to ensure life and health, and a soil fertile enough to sustain them and their posterity.

Another reason is, that this Society is truly of a national character—many of the benevolent associations of the day are necessarily sectional. Their operations are limited to certain portions of the country, and, however praiseworthy, are not calculated to foster a national spirit. But I understand, sir, that every State in the Union has already received benefits from this Society, and has an interest in its future efforts. In the present excited state of the public mind on the subject of slavery, something is wanted to allay the bitterness of feeling which sectional interests and jealousies are calculated to create. Nothing is so well adapted to promote harmony, as for all parties to be engaged together in some great work of benevolence. Love and malice cannot dwell together in the same breast. Here is a work of philanthropy in which all can unite. Here extremes may meet, without any abandonment of their peculiar principles.

Address of Governor Dutton.

Whatever views men may entertain, on the subject of slavery, whether they believe as I do, that it is a violation of the laws of nature, a blight and a curse, productive of evil and on y of evil continually, the continuance of which for a moiment, nothing would justify, but a well grounded apprehension of the substitution of greater evils by an attempt to abolish it, or whether they regard it as some profess to do, as an institution sanctioned by God himself, and constituting the best condition of society, in one thing, it seems to me all must agree, that the residence of free colored persons in this country, is undesirable both to themselves and to the whites, and that their removal would be a national blessing. I regard it, sir, as peculiarly proper that this Society should hold its annual meetings in the capitol of the nation and during the session of the National Legislature, that that body may have cognizance of its proceedings.

This Society, sir, is also national in another respect—it has no community of interest in feeling, with any of the various parties which divide up our population. We stand here on a platform broad enough to hold men of every religious creed and of every political faith. It is not a Baltimore platform or Syracuse platform or any of the political platforms. We need not stop to enquire whether the man who takes his position here, is a Democrat or a Whig; an anti-slavery man or a pro-slavery man; a Know Something or a Know Nothing; if he is a genuine philanthropist, we will hail him as a brother.

Another reason, Mr. President, why this Society should be patronised, and encouraged to press its claims upon our National Legislature, is, that the character of our nation is suffering and deservedly suffering, in the eyes of the civilized world, for its treatment of the Republic of Liberia. It is incomprehensible to many, why our Government should not have been the first to acknowledge her independence. It was reasonable to suppose that the similarity of her condition with that of our own Republic, in the days of her infancy, the recollection of the pleasure which the recognition of our independence gave, and the encouragement and aid which it afforded, and especially the fact that the Colonists of Liberia were once inhabitants of this country, would have prompted early action on the part of our Government. Instead of this course, an example has been set by others, and we still hesitate about following it. Aristocratic England, Imperial France, Despotic Prussia, Monarchical Belgium, and Slaveholding Brazil, have all voluntarily and freely stepped forward

and taken the young Republic by the hand and introduced her into the family of nations, while Republican America stands aloof. It is to be hoped, for the honor of the nation, that some satisfactory explanation of this course may yet be given.

I believe, Mr. President, that our public servants have misapprehended the views and wishes of their constituents on this subject. I am satisfied that the great body of the people, are prepared not only to hail the acknowledgment of the Independence of Liberia as a just and noble act, but to approve of a liberal appropriation, to aid the beneficent efforts of this Society. That Congress has the constitutional power to make such an appropriation, has been demonstrated before you, Mr. President, by high judicial authority. That it will take an early opportunity, to appropriate some of the surplus money in the Treasury to such a great national object, is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

Liberia, Mr. President, deserves to have her independence acknowledged. She planted herself on the extreme limit of a vast continent, relying upon the conquering power of love to man, and on aid from One who is able to save—although attacked by savage tribes, instigated by the fiends who traffic in human flesh and blood, she has hitherto sustained herself and may now be regarded as safe. When we compare what she has done with what other colonies have accomplished, we do not take into the account, the disadvantages under which she has labored. We forget that a large proportion of the colonists, had been kept here in a state of ignorance and dependence; that they were called on to discharge the duties of freemen and legislators, without having obtained the usual qualifications, and without having the advantage of experience. They were also called on to make and administer laws not only for themselves but for a much larger native population, wholly unacquainted with the usages of civilized society. From being under a state of tutelage themselves, they were suddenly placed in the condition of guardians and conservators of others. Notwithstanding this, wise laws have been enacted and enforced; free institutions established, and all the functions of government administered in a highly satisfactory manner. Not a colony which was planted on our Atlantic coast, made such rapid progress.

The disclosures which have been recently made in our courts of justice, and in publications, in which, according to the taste of the day, the authors proclaim their

Address of Governor Dutton.

own crimes, and glory in their shame, showing that the slave trade is still carried on to an alarming extent, is another reason for sustaining this Society. If these disclosures can be credited, the plague-spot is to be found even in New York and Boston. Men are to be found in those cities rolling in wealth, and setting pernicious examples of luxury and extravagance, from the fruits of this worst of piracy. Will not these facts startle our National Councils, and urge them to speedy action? If they suffer the laws of the country to be thus violated, can they escape the condemnation and contempt of the civilized world? Who can read, in a work designed to apologize for the traffic, the sickening details of the manner in which, at the present day, a slave-ship is freighted; of the terror that seizes the helpless victims of brute force, when the slave merchants visit a native village; of the abandonment of husbands and fathers, for the sake of gain, of every feeling which distinguishes a man from a brute, without determining, if possible, to make new efforts to put a stop to such atrocities? Are we to infer from these disclosures that the vessels of war stationed on the African coast are to be withdrawn? Certainly not. Let it be remembered, that wherever a colony has been planted on the coast, this infernal traffic has been suppressed. The only legitimate conclusion that can be drawn is, that it is by the combined efforts of a naval force and Colonization that the slave-trade is to be stopped. One tithe of the expense which is now deluging Europe with blood would plant a colony on every head-land, and station a vessel of war at the mouth of every inlet and harbor on the coast, and thus prevent the erection of a single baracoon.

Mr. President, let me urge another reason why a strong effort should be made at the present peculiar condition of the world in favor of this cause. There never was so favorable an opportunity of presenting a contrast between great public objects, prosecuted on one side by the deadly agency of war, and on the other by the benign influence of peace. More than half Europe is now engaged in a most fearful struggle. Never before have the shocking details of the battle field been exhibited in such a revolting light; never before has the destruction of life by contending armies had so much the appearance of wanton, deliberate murder; never before has there been so little of what is noble and praiseworthy in motive or deed, to draw off the attention from what is brutal and degrading. It is difficult for

most men to understand the cause of this expenditure of money and life, and they are disposed to enquire, with Wordsworth's simple-minded little Wilhelmine, "What did they kill each other for?" We shall be told, I suppose, that it is to protect the rights of a portion of the human race. Never before did a work of benevolence present such a hideous appearance. But let us allow the claim. If we can secure the happiness of another portion of the race, having stronger claims upon us than the Turks have upon the English or French, by improving property, by saving life, and promoting civilization and christianity, ought we not to do it? There is danger that benevolence, if it resorts alone to Minie rifles and Colt's pistols to accomplish its objects, will not be identified, and will be mistaken for something else.

Mr. President, there never was so favorable a time for an effort in the cause of humanity. Civilization has advanced more rapidly within the last quarter of a century than ever before. Barbarism has remained stationary, or retrograded. The power of the former to overcome the resistance of the latter, is, therefore, greater than ever before, while the result of success is to the same extent proportionably more important.

The contact of the two is also safer than ever before. It has been too often the case that the vices of civilization have to a great degree counteracted the effects of its improvements, and that, as in the case of our first parents tasting of the tree of knowledge, has to the savage, been the precursor of death. While philanthropy has extended to him the waters of life, avarice has followed, presenting the poisoned cup. But now that great moral reformation, which is extending its benign influence so rapidly over the whole civilized world, will give its protection to those who are just learning the rudiments of civilization and christianity.

Mr. President, the proof that is continually augmenting, that the colored race is not necessarily inferior to the whites in intellectual and moral powers, furnishes the friends of this Society with another motive for persevering effort. Not a year passes which does not exhibit among them instances of strong mental faculties, and of high moral attainments. This never would be the case if there was any physical weakness associated with the color of the skin. All the analogies of nature are opposed to any such idea. A dark soil indicates to the husbandman fertility, and a light-colored one barrenness. The blackest jet is capable of as high a polish as the whitest alabaster. The Roman poet, who excelled

Address of Governor Dutton.

all others in his observations on the productions of the earth, warns us

"Nimium ne crede color; Alba ligustra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur."

To color do not trust;
White fruits are left to fall off and decay,
While blackberries are pick'd and borne away.

Africa, Mr. President, is too fine a continent to remain any longer a waste. A rich soil and a tropical sun will enable it to produce in abundance all the drugs, spices, and fruits for which the world now depends on the East and West Indies. No quarter of the globe can vie with it in commercial advantages. It only needs an intelligent and enterprising population to secure a large share of the trade which now takes a devious and dangerous course round the Cape of Good Hope.

Mr. President, the rest of the world owes a debt to Africa which ought to be recognized. It has now run over 3,000 years, and there is danger of its being outlawed. In tracing the history of the world to the most remote antiquity, Africa appears to have been the mother of the arts and sciences, and to have carried them to a high degree of perfection. Many a modern genius has made, as he supposed, a wonderful new invention, but has found to his mortification that it is as old as the Catacombs of Egypt, and that if he should apply for a patent, his right might be disputed by a mummy. Africa alone has preserved and transmitted to us actual exhibits of persons, articles, and customs, that existed more than thirty centuries ago. From Africa the light of science penetrated Greece, and from Greece it was disseminated through the rest of the world. If Africa had always been the dark region which it is now, who can tell how many centuries

the civilization of Europe would have been retarded. Who can assure us that instead of Americans being assembled to consult for the enlightenment of Africa, a company of Europeans would not have been now met, to speculate on the probability of finding a new continent beyond the untried Atlantic ocean? Who can estimate the influence which the pyramids have had upon the progress of the human race? Thus they have stood for more than three thousand years, the wonder and admiration of more than one hundred generations, a living-proof of how much the skill and energy and combined action of man can accomplish. Who can gaze at these gigantic productions of human power without enlarged views of his own ability, and a more determined purpose to produce something which will last beyond his own life. Silently, unconsciously, undesignedly, they also teach, and have for ages taught, a great moral lesson, that no monument raised by man can endure the ravages of time which has not its foundations laid broad upon the earth, and unless it points towards heaven. Such a monument, let us trust, this Society is now erecting.

In all its physical qualities, Africa is the same now as it was when the foundations of the pyramids were laid, and when Thebes was the first city of the world. The same soil is there which at a later day nurtured the iron frame of Hannibal, and the same vertical rays of the sun now scorch the earth which filled his soul with such fiery energy. If under the influence of civilization, depressed by heathenism, Africa could produce a Hannibal, why may we not hope that the same civilization, elevated by Christianity, will yet give birth to a Washington?

Address of Commander A. H. Foote, U. S. N.

AT THE 38TH ANNIVERSARY, JANUARY 16, 1855.

MR. PRESIDENT—I cannot plead physical debility, as the worthy Governor of my own State has done in the exordium of his logical, classical and perspicuous address, even should I fail in making or in sustaining good points while advocating the cause of African Colonization. On other grounds, however, I can claim the indulgence of this audience, for you, Mr. President, will bear me witness, that when invited last evening, to participate in the exercises on this occasion I declined for want of preparation; and even to-day, when the request was renewed, I replied categorically, positively, and unequivocally, no! But called upon now for the third time, I yield to the importunity, with the hope, that personal knowledge and ex-

perience, with an array of facts which are the strongest arguments, will compensate in a measure for the want of a carefully prepared address.

Colonies have been founded in different ages from a multiplicity of motives. There have been penal colonies—military colonies, and colonies established, as in the early settlements of parts of our own country, from religious and political considerations. In penal colonies a new element characterizes the modern system, the object being not merely to remove the criminal but to reform him. It is a great result in this respect, that in Australia, there are now powerful communities, rich with the highest elements of civilization, constituted to a great extent of those who

Address of Commander A. H. Foote.

otherwise, as the children of criminals, would have been born to cells and stripes, if not brandings and gibbets, as their inheritance.

In this age, especially in our own country, we are called to the noble task of preventing rather than punishing; of raising society from the pollution of vice rather than curing or expelling it. This higher effort, which is natural to the spirit of christianity, should have accompanied it everywhere; a nation is responsible for its inhabitants, and ought to master whatever tends to crime among them. Those whom it sends abroad ought to be its citizens, not its reprobates. It owes to the world, that the average amount of virtue in it accompany its transferred communities, so that the world does not suffer by the transference. This ought to be the case when a race, like the free African, is transported to a location more suitable; and we believe that the higher and the better motives have characterized the American Colonization Society in its effort of returning the negro race to its own land; we believe that the transfer of that race to its more suitable locality is mainly an effort of philanthropic benevolence. Its motives, however, excel in degree, not in kind. The same inducements which at all times influenced colonizing measures, have had their place, with more or less force, in these schemes. In deriving support for them it has been necessary to appeal to every motive, and seek assistance by every inducement.

In presenting the claims of colonization, the increase of national prosperity, the promotion of national commerce, the relief of national difficulties, the preservation of national quiet by the exodus of this race, have all been urged in the different sections of the country and on different orders of men. But notwithstanding this appeal to the selfishness of human nature, the best and holiest principles were put prominently forward, and men of corresponding character called forth to direct them. They were truly efforts of christianity, throwing its solid intelligence and earnest affections into action for the conquest of a continent, by returning the Africans to their home, and making this conquest a work of faith and labor of love.

The slavery imported and grafted on this country by foreign political supremacy, when the country was helpless, has been subjected to a trial never undergone by such an institution in any other part of the world. An enemy held dominion where slavery existed, and while the masters were called upon to fight for their own political independence, there was opportunity for the slave to revolt or escape if

such had been his wish. Those who are not acquainted with the ties uniting the slave to his master's household, and the interest he feels in his master's welfare, would expect that when a hostile army was present to rescue and defend them, the whole slave population would rise, with eager fury to avenge their subjection, or with eager hope to escape from it. But the historical truth is, that very few indeed of the colored men of the United States, whether slave or free, joined the English in the Revolutionary War. Thus the impression, that the position and influence of the negro in society would forever check the republican spirit and keep the country in dependence, frustrated the recorded expectation of those who forced this evil upon a reluctant people.

The small number of colored persons who did join the English, produced no slight difficulty. That small number ought perhaps to have been easily amalgamated somehow or other, with the vast amount of the English population; that this did not happen, and did not seem possible, is perfectly evident; either color, character, or position, or something else which it is for the English people to explain, prevented this. Many of them were found in the lanes and dens of vice, in London, there combining incumbrance, nuisance and danger. This condition of things, excited the attention of Granville Sharpe and other English philanthropists, and led to the foundation of the colony of Sierra Leone. Great Britain found herself hampered on a subsequent occasion with the charge of a few hundreds of the maroons, or independent free negroes of Jamaica. It was known that it would not answer to mingle them with the slave population of that island. They were sent to Sierra Leone and afterwards constituted the most worthy part of its population.

Similar difficulties have pressed with a manifold weight on society in this country: Jefferson, with other distinguished statesmen, endeavored to remedy them. A suitable location in the lands of the West was sought after for the settlement of the free negroes. The Portuguese government was also sounded for the acquisition of some place in South America. But these schemes were comparatively valueless, for they wanted the main requisite, that Africa itself should share in the undertaking. Christian benevolence now looked abroad upon the face of the world to examine its condition and its wants. Africa was seen looming up in the distance, dark, gloomy, and vast and hopeless—with Egyptian darkness upon it—"darkness that might be felt;" while na-

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tions, professedly christian, plundered it with an extent and atrocity of rapine, such as never elsewhere had been seen. Africa, therefore, became the object of deep interest to the christian philanthropy of this country, and all things concurred to bring out some great enterprize for its benefit and that of the African race in the United States. After repeated efforts and failures, a plan was matured; a meeting was called in this city on the 25th of December, 1816, and the American Colonization Society was formed with the resolution to be free, and christian and national.

There was peace in the world. Society was awakening to a remorseful consideration of the iniquities which had been practiced on the African race in their own land, and upon the same population in this. The gradual emancipation of slaves, as favored by Jefferson and others in the early days of the republic, was discussed. But the objects sought in the formation of the Colonization Society, were the removal and benefit of the free colored population, together with such slaves as might have freedom extended to them with the view of settlement in Africa. And thus the work of forming an African nation in Africa, with republican feelings, impressions and privileges, was commenced.

A faithful history would furnish a dark shady as well as a sunny side; pestilence and war, suffering and death, marked the early history of our African Colony. In the year 1837, fifteen years from the settlement at Cape Mesurado, there were four distinct associations at work in Liberia; each with its own little colony established in such spots as chance seems to have directed. There was a mass of conflicting or disconnected organizations, with separate sources of authority and separate systems of management, without common head or common spirit. Each colony was isolated amid encompassing barbarism, and far more likely, if left to itself, to fall back under the power of that which surrounded it, than to establish good policy or civilization among the savage African communities with which they were brought in contact. In this state of things the American Colonization Society, after consulting with the State Societies, drew up a common constitution for the colonies and established the commonwealth of Liberia. After an efficient administration, during which the people had begun to be the government, it was there, even among colored people, shown, that human nature has capacity for its highest ends on earth, and there is no difficulty or mystery in governing society.

which men of common sense or common honesty cannot overcome. Governor Buchanan died in harness. Then and there was a remarkable man withdrawn from the world. His character and his eulogium may be found in his deeds—they have a voice to tell their own tale. It is well known that Roberts, a colored man, the present President of Liberia, succeeded Buchanan as Governor of the Commonwealth; this totally separated and individualized the African race as the managers of local affairs, and made, as to internal concerns, all things their own.

The physical, material, and political resources or agencies were small. A few men, in a distant land, had taken up the subject of African colonization amidst the national strifes, political controversies, and gigantic enterprises of a mighty nation, and held fast to it. A few of pre-eminent generosity surrendered their slaves, or wealth, or personal endeavors to forward it. No one could stand on Cape Mesurado and see the intermingled churches and houses; the broad expanses of interior waters, bordered by residences, and see a people, elevated far, very far, to say the least, above those of their color in other parts of the world, without the consciousness that a great work was begun. It indicated a great fact in the history of the negro race; and it may be presumed that now the tidings are circulating through the depths of the interior that peace has come from the West, and that an African people has returned to bless their old dark continent with light and truth.

Liberia as a commonwealth was in the eyes of national law no government. The colony was founded by individuals in the United States, not by the government, therefore the United States could not afford the necessary protection when the right to extend jurisdiction, regulate trade, and substitute fixed duties, should be claimed by the Liberians. For these and other evils with which Liberia was oppressed, independence was the only remedy. Individuals from all sections of our country, bearing on them the imperial character of their nation, had transmitted it by the dark-skinned race to vivify with liberty and self-government the great slave-land of the world. This was perhaps an honor higher than they aimed at. The few judicious men of Liberia saw the necessity of making the experiment. The outlines of a constitution, as far as that already existing needed modification, were borrowed from that of the United States. A declaration of independence was drawn up and proclaimed in the year 1847; and Roberts, the governor, whose state of pu-

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pillage had been passed under the master mind of Buchanan, was elected President of the Republic. England, France, Prussia, Belgium, and Brazil, have successively acknowledged the independence of Liberia.

Our estimate of the colonists must not be conformed to the standard of an American population. Keeping this in view, the visitor will find the government and the people presenting an aspect altogether more favorable than he is prepared to find, judging them from their race, when in contact with a white population. The country is theirs; they are lords of the soil; and in intercourse with them it is soon observed that they are free from that oppressive sense of inferiority which mark the colored people in this country. As the country becomes settled, and the character of its diseases better understood, the acclimating fever is less dreaded. In fact now it rarely proves fatal when proper attention is paid to the sick. This having been passed through, the emigrants enjoy far better health than they did in the extreme north of our country. In fact, according to President Roberts, the number of deaths in Liberia is three per cent. smaller than in New England and Canada among the same class of population, showing that a tropical climate is better adapted to their constitution. The country possesses elements of great prosperity, and the productions of the soil are varied and abundant. It is the want of agricultural industry rather than the incapacity of the country to yield richly the fruits of the earth, that has been the difficulty with the Liberians. With well-directed labor of one half the amount required among the farmers of the United States, a large surplus of the earth's productions, over the demands of home consumption, might be gathered.

I bow to authority, and acknowledge allegiance to our governor who has so eloquently addressed us. But you, *Mr. President*, can appreciate the enjoyment of a military man on an occasion like this, in the presence of grave Senators, members of the House and perhaps Cabinet Ministers, when he has the democratic right of free speech. In the exercise of this privilege, therefore, I must join issue with our profound jurist and able scholar, when he refers to Cyprian and Hannibal as being negro Africans. Hannibal, Cyprian, and Terence were Asiatics or Europeans rather than Africans, the Great Desert being properly the Northern boundary of the African race. In ancient times, an African, with his physical conformation,

would have created as great a sensation at the head of an army, or in the chair of a professor, as it would now in the United States, England, or the Crimea.

Let, then, the black man be judged fairly, and not presumed to have become, all at once and by miracle, of a higher order. There are and will be among them men who are covetous, or men who are tyrannical, or men who would sacrifice the public interests, or any others, to their own; men who now would go into the slave-trade if they could, or rob hen-roosts, or intrigue for office, or pick pockets, rather than trouble their heads or their hands with more honorable occupations. Such things will be found in Liberia, not because men are black, but because men are men.

It should not be forgotten that the experiment in respect to this race is essentially a new one. In fact it may be said that the African has never reached, until the settlement of Liberia, a higher rank than the king of Dahomey. No philosopher among them has caught sight of the mysteries of nature; no poet has illustrated heaven or earth, or the life of man; no statesman has done anything to lighten or brighten the links of human policy. In fact, if all that negroes of all generations have ever done were to be obliterated from recollection forever, the world would lose no great truth, no profitable art, no exemplary form of life. The loss of all that is African, would offer no memorable deduction from anything but the earth's black catalogue of crimes. Africa is guilty of the slavery under which she has suffered, for her people made it as well as suffered it. The great experiment, therefore, is as to the effect of instruction given to such a race from a higher one. It has had its success and promises more.

Liberia is the restoration of the African in his highest intellectual condition to that country in which his character had become the most degraded. The question to be settled is whether that condition can be retained, or so improved that he may keep pace with the rest of the world. It is a necessary element in this proceeding that he be self-governing. It is to the establishment of this point that we look to decide the dispute whether negro races are to remain forever degraded or not. Time and patience, however, and much kind watchfulness, may be required before this experiment can be deemed conclusive. It is in Liberia alone that the colored man can find freedom, and the incentives to higher motives of action which are conducive to virtue. There these sources of good are

Remarks of Col. H. Baldwin, and Rev. Dr. Lee.

found in abundance for his race. In this country he can gain the intelligence of the free population, but is excluded from the vivifying motives of the freeman. In Liberia he has both. Means are needed to sustain this condition of things. The first of these is religion, which to a great degree pervades the community there. It is true that some of the lower forms of a vivid conception of spiritual things characterize the people, but far preferable is this to the tendency of the age elsewhere, towards attempting to bring within the scope of human reason the higher mysteries of faith. The second is the school, which keeps both intelligence and aspiration alive, and nurtures both. They will transfer, therefore, what the United States alone exemplifies, and what is vitally important to free governments, namely, a system of free public education in the common schools.

Liberia contains a population exceeding one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. Not much more than one-twentieth of this number are American colonists. Its growth has been gradual and healthy. The government, administered in its present form for more than seven years, by blacks alone, appears to be firmly established. The country is now in a condition to receive as many emigrants as the United States can send. To the colored man who regards the highest interests of his children; to young men of activity and enterprise, the Republic certainly affords the strongest attractions. We would not join in any attempt to crush the aspirations of any class of men in this country, but it is an actual fact, whatever may be thought of it, that here the colored man has never risen to that position which every man should occupy among his fellows. For suppose the wishes of the philanthropist towards him to be fully accomplished; secure him his political rights; unfetter him in body and intellect: cultivate him in taste even; then while nomi-

nally free he is still in bondage, for freedom must also be the prerogative of the white as well as of the black man, and the white man must likewise be left free to form his most intimate social relations; and he has not, and never has been disposed, in this country, to unite himself with a cast marked by so broad a distinction as exists between the two races. The testimony on these points of those who have had abundant advantages for observation, has been uniform and conclusive. For the colored man himself, then, for his children, Liberia is an open city of refuge. He there may become a freeman, not only in name, but a freeman in deed and in truth.

Liberia has strong claims upon christian aid and sympathy. It may in a few years become the base of missionary operations and send forth colored people with whom the climate agrees, with words of life to their brethren throughout the length and breadth of the continent. The independence of the Republic ought to be acknowledged by the United States. This according to the opinion of President Roberts, which also might be guaranteed by treaty, would not imply the necessity of a resident colored representative or even diplomatic correspondence, while the moral, commercial, and political effects, would be beneficial to both parties. Reference to the influence of Liberia on the extirpation of the slave trade has been made by the previous speakers. It is gratifying to the friends of colonization and humanity to find that the Republic has wholly exterminated that atrocious traffic over its entire extent of coast, a distance of six hundred miles.

Mr. President, I have already exceeded the limits assigned me, or I would in this connection express my views on the subject of the African Squadron, and the African slave trade. I am however prepared to enter upon this discussion before the Board of Directors as soon as the opportunity may be afforded.

Remarks of Col. H. Baldwin, and Rev. Dr. Leroy M. Lee.

After the address of Commander Foote, the President rose to adjourn the meeting, but was restrained from doing so by Col. H. Baldwin, of Syracuse, New York, who respectfully asked permission to say a few words. The privilege was accorded, when that gentleman approached the stand and addressed the auditory.

Although not a member of the Society he had a plan to suggest, which would, while strengthening the arm of the Society, prove beneficial to the negroes of this country. The Society had, so far, failed of its great object, accomplishing but

little good. It was known that our government had acquired an immense tract of land from Mexico, which is rich in resources, but uninhabited. He proposed that the proceeds of the sales of the public lands be devoted to the purchase of the slaves, and that they either be sent to this Mexican possession or Liberia, according to their own desire. Those who do not choose to emigrate to either, to remain where they are, to be employed as the laboring white men are at the North. He declared his high respect for the constitutional rights of Southern men, and, of

Remarks of Col. H. Baldwin, and Rev. Dr. Lec.

course would consult them as to the sale of their slaves. This was the home of the American black man; he knows no other, and it would be cruel to force him hence without his consent. He earnestly contended that his scheme was feasible and practicable. The blacks could be settled on our acquired Mexican territory, either to become an independent republic, or, ultimately, to be admitted into the Union as a State.

The President again rose to adjourn the meeting, when

The Rev. Charles A. Davis said a gentleman from Virginia had in vain been endeavoring to catch the President's eye, anxious, he believed, to reply to the extraordinary speech of the gentleman from New York, and he hoped his friend, Dr. Lee, would have the privilege of doing so. For his own part, he, Mr. D., was unwilling to adjourn without some notice of the speech to which they had just listened.

The President invited Dr. Lee into the altar, who said: He differed entirely with the gentleman from New York, in the object he proposed, and in the views he expressed as the object of the American Colonization Society. He respected age, and desired always to treat it with veneration. He was constrained to express his decided opposition to the course of the venerable gentleman; but hoped to do so with kindness of feeling.

In the first place, sir, we are not the nation, have no legislative authority, and no public domain to sell. And if we had, would not regard such an appropriation of its produce as a wise expenditure. The scheme of the gentleman is not as new as he seems to regard it. Jefferson once held a similar opinion, but on mature reflection abandoned it. It is now regarded as an obsolete idea.

In the second place, sir, as a Society, we have nothing to do with schemes of emancipation, on the one hand, nor of abolition on the other. Both subjects are contraband. He might, and would, were it necessary, express his disagreement with some of the personal opinions of the Governor of Connecticut, but preferred to agree where agreement was possible and pleasant; and he had said truly, and with great force for the Society, we are neither Whigs nor Democrats, Abolitionists nor pro-slavery men, but are an association of philanthropic men, trusting in God, and laboring to promote the good of the colored race. Having nothing to do with political parties and religious sects, the Society stands among them all as a centre of unity, around which all good men may rally, and unite with each other in accom-

plishing the great object of African colonization.

Again Mr. President, our object is not, as the gentleman from New York said, to remove the colored man to Liberia without his consent. This is an express stipulation of the constitution. We seek to restore the negro to his home, in the land of his fathers. This is not his home. He is a stranger here, whether bond or free. Africa is the only land in which he can enjoy freedom. He has gained much by the centuries of his contact with American civilization. But it is only in the land of his fathers that he can enjoy freedom—that in the higher civilization that welcomes and awaits him, he may fold his arms, and with his eye fixed on heaven, look around on the world, and in proud consciousness of freedom, say, "I, too, am a man!" (Applause.) Mr. President: The history of the world shows that friction among equals, refines and elevates; here, so great is the disparity between the white and colored races, that it only partially elevates, partially refines. In Africa, where all are of one color, and all equal, social refinement and intellectual improvement may go on with mutual advantage and in endless progression.

He repeated, he regretted exceedingly the gentleman's speech. We are seeking other and better objects than those presented by the gentleman from New York. To secure them we must adhere to the long cherished and well defined objects of the organization. As a minister of the gospel, he was well acquainted with public opinion in the South. In Virginia and North Carolina, he had preached in behalf of colonization, and taken up collections in aid of the cause. The opinion is too decided to admit of change in our principles, or our plans for promoting them. The north, south, east and west, believe that in order to the complete success of this Society, it must stand by its first principles. (Applause.) They were wise men who laid the foundations of this Society. Governor Dutton had compared it to the pyramids. Its foundation was firm and deep; its sides were equal, and its apex ever pointing upwards toward heaven as if in supplication of its blessing. Sir, we are only safe on our original foundations. We must maintain them, here, now, and always. If, in support of our principles, our noble ship go down, let us nail our flag to the mast, and sink with colors streaming over the waters that engulf our cause. The constitution, sir, is our protection, and the guarantee of success. Shall we abandon it for Utopian schemes? Never. No, sir, never, never.

A M E

"Article 1.

"Art. 2. To plan for colonial or such other projects in co-operation subject.

"Art. 3. Each of one dollar, and each who shall pay the sum of one of the Society

"Art. 4. To such other times and places shall be

"Art. 5. To from the several States. Each into the treasury

"Art. 6. To Committee of be present at except as provided

"Art. 7. To meeting of the Executive Committee meeting regularly with the committee, with the have competence thus constituted

"Art. 8. To Secretary. To subject only to have been paid shall be member committee is authorized ever such of service of the Society, and

"Art. 9. Societies representing official paper to receive the same